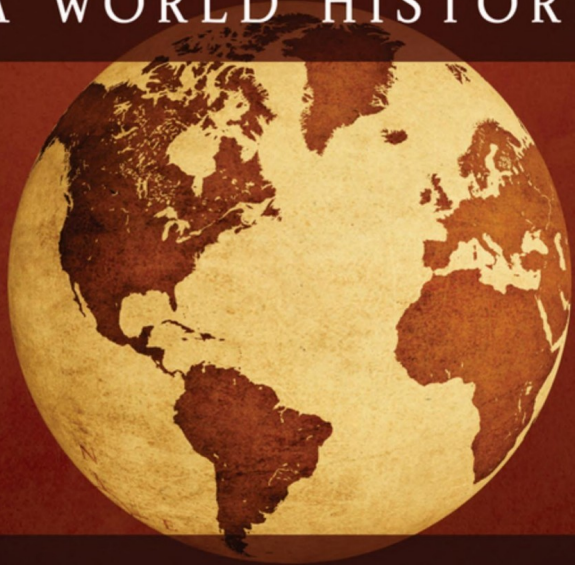
The Thirteenth Century

A World History



Richard Bressler

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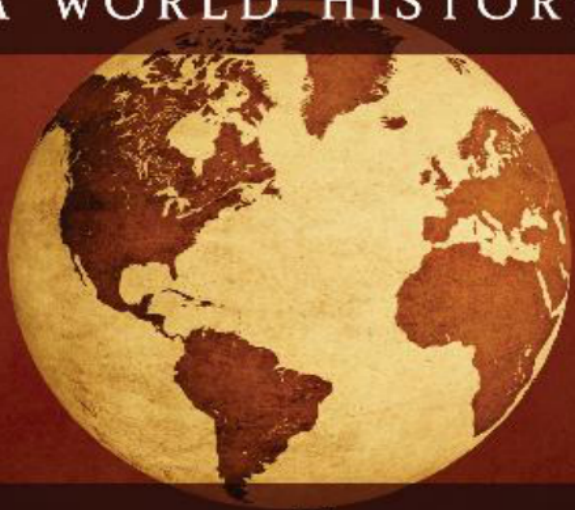

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THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

A World History

Richard Bressler

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Preface

Two books in my library were the inspiration for the format and reach of this book. The first is *The First Century: Emperors, Gods, and Everyman* by William K. Klingaman (New York, 1990). This book covers the history of the 1st century ce, and uses particular years and events that took place that year in a particular place as the structure for the story. The subtitle of *Emperors, Gods, and Everyman* shows that the emphasis was on people whose names have come down to us, like Augustus, Tiberius, Nero, Jesus, St. Paul. The geographic reach of this book went beyond the Mediterranean, including Germany, Britain, China and Vietnam. The two main topics were the Roman and Chinese Empires. While Everyman was included in the subtitle, the vast majority of the people discussed in this book were political, military or religious leaders. The second book that inspired me was *The Birth of the Modern: World Society 1815–1830 by* Paul Johnson (New York, 1991). This book covered the years stated in the title, but covered the whole world. Society is discussed in many aspects, not just the leaders. I decided to try and combine these two approaches. I wanted to learn about the whole world in the 13th century, not just limited to Europe and China. But I was more interested in political, military and religious personalities. So I decided to follow the format of *The First Century*, but include as much of the world as I could.

Writing history of the parts of the world without written records is not really writing history. The sources used are archaeological, not historical. These archaeological chapters cover two large parts of the world peopled by civilizations that did not leave written records for the 13th century: the Americas and sub-Saharan Africa. I chose not to include anything about Oceania, Australia and New Zealand. Choices were made based on my reading of history for the rest of the world. There were other events and people whom I could have included, but the exclusions are mine.

The first thing one learns when studying the world in the 13th century is the overwhelming importance of one long event, the Mongol conquest. As will be detailed, in 1200 the Mongol realm was confined to a remote part of the vast grasslands in East Asia. By 1300, Mongol rule was in place from Moscow to Korea, Turkey to the Pacific coast of China, southern Siberia to northern parts of Indo-China. This was the largest empire yet seen in world history. It remains the largest

contiguous land empire, only being surpassed in total size by the British Empire at its height. This empire was not created in a peaceful manner. A recent book, *The Better Angels of Our Nature* argues how much more violent the past was than our own time. One of the examples cited is a list of events called "Possibly the Twenty Worst Things People Have Done to Each Other." This takes the best estimate of the number of people who died in an event (not including epidemics, which killed many more people than these human-caused events), which could take place over a number of centuries, like the Atlantic or Mideastern slave trade, and determined the percentage of world population that was involved. The estimate for the death toll in the 13th century from the Mongol conquest is 40 million. When this is compared to world population, the 20th century equivalent is 278 million. This makes the Mongol conquest the second costliest event in world history, based on percentage of world population. (The costliest event was the An Lushan Revolt in 8th century China, which caused a 20th century equivalent of 429 million deaths. I had never heard of it.) That is why there are more chapters on the Mongol conquest than any thing else.

Other basic facts need to be understood about the 13th century. Living conditions anywhere in the world were much different than today. I am assuming any reader understands that, and will make little mention of the slowness of communication and difficulty of everyday life. Life spans were much shorter. Most of the people mentioned in this book were leaders of some kind, who had much better material conditions and much better chance of a long life than the people they led. Even these leaders suffered the loss of many children and relatives at very young ages. Religious belief, and practice, was universal. Which religion was practiced varied from place to place, but very few people were not religious. Technology was primitive by our standards, and not widespread. The leading technological area was China. Education was confined to a small upper class. Literacy was very limited. Progress in these areas was being made, but the standard of living, even among the richest, was well lower than we are used to. A middle class of merchants and artisans was in its infancy, but making enough of an impact that I discuss trade in several chapters. The occupation of the vast majority of the population was to secure, through agriculture or other means, the sustenance of life. I will not be reviewing this struggle, which was the daily fact of life for approximately 95 percent of the population of the world. I can recommend one book, *The Axe and the Oath*, which details the struggle for everyday existence in northern France in the 13th century. I'm sure there are many others for different parts of the world.

At the level of rulers, throughout this book I will be using modern terms. When I use the word state, empire, or province, please do not use modern conditions as your base point. Modern civil service and administration did not exist. Civil servants existed, particularly in China. But they were paid very poorly by the government, and had to secure income by corrupt means. In 13th century kingdoms and empires, most government below the level of the king and emperor was conducted by local nobles in rural areas and prominent nobles and merchants in towns. These subordinates were not in constant communication with their capitals, and tried to become as independent as possible. There are more instances than I can count of rebellions, revolts, or civil wars initiated by subordinates in these larger political entities. A ruler in the 13th century, in any part of the world, could not be sure of obedience away from his own presence. All rulers tried to ensure this obedience, with varying levels of success. Genghis Khan was probably the most successful in this century, and he had major problems. Rulers all over the world shared one characteristic, with very few exceptions. They wanted to expand their realms. The Mongols are the most extreme example of this during the 13th century, but they were not alone. Virtually all of the larger polities discussed in this book wished to expand, and much of what is discussed in this book are the results of the conflicts caused by this wish.

Commerce was growing in the 13th century, on a worldwide basis. This commerce is discussed in several chapters. Prosperity was growing as well. Remember that this commercial activity encompassed a very small percentage of the population. Entities participating in commerce and manufacture were very small, usually family based. Very few merchants are mentioned by name, because my sources contained very few names. In some places, like northern Europe, the commercial records do not exist before the 14th century. In others, the records kept by the state exclude merchant names, but not their taxes.

One of my sources calls the 13th century “the greatest of centuries.” After researching the topic, I am not sure that it is the greatest of centuries for anyone except a Mongol prince or emperor. It is certainly an interesting time period, but I am not qualified to rate all the centuries of history. The rating scale would slide based on what was important during that time, and important to the writer. I have tried to use the 13th century as a convenient frame to tell some interesting stories.

It was not my intention to produce original research in this book. I

have used the sources listed, and ordered the events as I saw fit. The acknowledgments contain a list of the people who have aided me in this process. Any errors are mine alone.

A note on names. I used the most common English name listed in the sources. This means that Mongol names are transliterated using the one used most often in the sources I reviewed. This is the case for the most dominant figure in this book for the first quarter of this century. I have seen many spellings of Genghis, but determined this spelling is the most common. Names in other languages are put into English. An example would be the person who was King of Sicily (Federico) and Holy Roman Emperor in Germany (Friedrich) in the first half of the 13th century. I call him Frederick. Kings in the Iberian Peninsula are called by their English names. Examples are: Peter (Pedro), James (Jaime), Ferdinand (Fernando). This applies to other languages as well.

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1

1200—Cahokia

At the winter solstice, just before the year 1200, a ceremony took place at a circular monument in what is now Cahokia, Illinois. This ceremony was to observe the winter solstice, as was done at many places throughout the world, using the monument to determine the date of the solstice. This monument, now called Woodhenge, has been recreated on the site in Cahokia. It consists of a central wooden post, surrounded by other posts in a circle. After much dispute among archeologists, it was determined that this monument was an astronomical observatory, much like Stonehenge and megalith sites in other parts of the world. The archeologist who discovered this site, Warren Wittry, spent most of his professional life excavating at Cahokia. He felt that the site was an observatory, and until the end of his life met with local enthusiasts on the winter solstice to watch the sun rise over the post marking the solstice position.

Mr. Wittry was not recreating a specific ceremony, as he had no idea how the inhabitants celebrated the solstice. No one specifically knows how these yearly events were celebrated at Cahokia. A society that could organize such events had been in place in Cahokia for over 100 years. By 1200, Cahokia was at or just past its peak. The population of this community has been estimated at 15,000, which made it the biggest human community north of Mexico in the Americas. The physical features that led archeologists to this site are still visible, large earthen mounds rising from a flat landscape.

Native Americans had been building these mounds for a long time. The earliest dated mound is Watson Brake, in northeastern Louisiana, which has been dated to 3400 bce. Other early mounds in the southeastern U.S. are near water, and were built using a combination of earth and shell. By the year 1000, mounds had been built all over the Mississippi valley. These mounds were mostly burial mounds. The mounds contain many items other than bodies, showing that the inhabitants left items with the dead either as tribute, or for use in the next world. Some of the mounds had crematoriums, as well as burial chambers. The mounds were mostly built in a rectangular shape, but many other shapes could be used. Circular mounds exist, and one of

the most striking is the Serpent Mound in Ohio, which is built in that form on a ridge, with the head in the valley.

While the mounds could become quite large, most could be built by a small community working on them a few days a year. The surfaces were periodically renewed and built up, probably at ceremonies associated with consecrating the ground when new burials were necessary. During most of the time between 3400 bce and 1000, the people who built these mounds lived as hunter-gatherers. They must have found the best places for this activity, and stayed in one place as much as they could. These sites tended to be near good sources of fresh water and food. Rivers and wetlands were very popular, as they were consistent sources of edible flora and fauna. Studies of ancient diets show that sometime around 800, the agriculture of Mexico made its way to the Mississippi valley. After much experimentation and development of adapted crops, the stage was set for a population expansion in this area.

In the early 11th century, there was a prosperous cluster of agricultural villages in the area where the Mississippi, Missouri, and Illinois rivers meet. This area was very well suited to the new package of maize, beans, and native crops now being cultivated by the inhabitants. Rainfall was sufficient, the land was flat and fertile, and fish and wildlife were abundant. Trade took place between these villages, and others on the rivers of this area. According to the picture that the North American continent was inhabited by peaceful and egalitarian tribes with no desire for power over others, this condition should have lasted until the Europeans came in the 16th century. It did not.

Sometime in the late 11th century, a large community formed at Cahokia. Eventually more than 200 mounds were constructed in the area, which included the modern towns of Cahokia, East St. Louis, and St. Louis (which was known as the Mound City in the 1800s). Some of these mounds were small, and probably built by family or village groups. Other mounds were too big for that, and the biggest mounds could only have been built by a large, organized workforce. This civilization has been named Mississippian, and arose as a consequence of improvement of climate (called the Medieval Warm Period) and improvement in living conditions from increased food supply. There are many examples of communities such as this in the Mississippi valley, but Cahokia was the largest and best studied.

Who were the Cahokians? What was their name for themselves, and what was their language? The short answer is we don’t know.

Whoever they were, they built a sophisticated community in a short period of time. It appears the community started to expand around 1050. Anthropologist Timothy Pauketat speculates that a well known astronomical event may have been the cause. This event, recorded by a Chinese astronomer on July 4, 1054, was the explosion of a supernova in the constellation Taurus, now known as the Crab Nebula. There is no question that an event like this would have made a big impression anywhere in the northern hemisphere in this era. The light from this supernova was visible, day and night, for 23 days, and remained a visible star for over two years. All agricultural peoples watched the skies closely, as their very lives depended on the weather. Chiefs and shamans used celestial events in religious ceremonies to guide their communities. Did some chief use this event to decree the building of a grand new community? It is a possibility.

Whatever the cause, the site of Old Cahokia, one of the villages in this area, was used to build a new, grander community. The largest mound in North America, now called Monks Mound, was built as the centerpiece of the community. This mound had a top with three terraces, which were home to leaders of the community, who conducted religious and political ceremonies there. Just to the south of Monks Mound is an open area, called the Grand Plaza. Over 1600 feet long and 900 feet wide, it was a man-made sacred space, surfaced with fine grained sand. Casual foot traffic was not allowed there. This plaza was surrounded by the homes of the residents of this community.

The central part of Cahokia was surrounded by a wooden palisade by 1200. This could have been an indication of conflict with surrounding communities, or a structure built for the elites to exclude the commoners. It is known that there were many villages in this area, both on the bottomland of the river valleys, and on the prairie that is above the nearby bluffs. The neighboring communities were ruled from Cahokia, and supplied the town with food in exchange for political and religious guidance. Cahokia was the ceremonial center for a large area. These surrounding communities grew crops, gathered food, and hunted for food during the winter and other times when they were not in the field. However, the archeological record shows that their diet was less nutritious than the elite in Cahokia, showing that their best products, both plant and animal, ended up in Cahokia. This lesser diet also applied to the non-elite population that lived in the town of Cahokia.

Cahokia was not a center of manufacturing or most of the other services provided by a modern city. The vast majority of the residents

were farmers, working the land in the immediate area. People making beads and pottery would have been farmers as well. They would have been able to work on these projects during time off from farming, mostly in winter. The amount of beads and pottery found at these sites is not consistent with having full time craftsmen. The main social difference in these communities was between the political and religious leaders and their followers. These leaders were members of kinship groups. Many mounds are thought to be charnel houses of specific kinship groups. The leading groups of the communities built their houses together, usually around a mound or "sweat lodge." The leaders gathered surplus crops to store for bad times. They communicated with the gods, to ensure good weather and good crops. In case of war, the leaders were responsible for protection of the community. There must have been some conflicts. By 1200, many of these communities had palisades surrounding their settlements. This has been shown by posthole patterns at these sites. Most graves include arrowheads and other stone or metal components of weapons.

One kind of ceremony in Cahokia involved human sacrifice. This was uncovered at a mound called Mound 72. There are several levels in this mound. The latest estimate is of more than 5 different instances of multiple ceremonial deaths. A report prepared by the bioarchaeologist in charge of one of the levels reads like a modern police report:

> This mass burial is distinguished from the four others not only in the lack of care in burial placement but also in demographic characteristics. Where the previously described burials were all females, this pit contained 16 males, 2 probable males, 3 females, and 15 individuals of unknown sex. The average age of 26.2 years is also older than recorded for the other pits…. Evidence of violence also distinguishes these burials from the other mass graves. Three individuals had been decapitated prior to being thrown into the pit. The heads were thrown in before the burials were covered. Another male appears to have been incompletely decapitated. The atlas and skull were separated by 10 cm from the rest of the vertebrae. The fracturing of the mandible … and its separation from the skull indicate that considerable force supplied by a heavy implement such as a stone axe or mace used in decapitation [Pauketat, p. 76].

Timothy Pauketat speculates that this ceremony was performed at Mound 72, and the bodies thrown into a pre-prepared pit. He also speculates that the other burials seen in Mound 72 were different. As stated above, the previous burials were all females. The killing seems to have taken place somewhere else, and the bodies transported to

Mound 72. At one of the levels, two cedar posts used for a stretcher to transport the body were found next to the body. Pauketat's research shows that the victims of these ceremonies were young women from communities outside Cahokia. He thinks these women were chosen based on appearance, so the gods would be pleased.

There had to have been a strong religious significance to these ceremonies. Human sacrifice has a long history, always being done in a religious context. So there would have been a celebration associated with these ceremonies. It is not known what time of the year this happened, or if it happened because of a change of power at the top. Human sacrifice appears to be pretty rare in Cahokia that was occupied for at least 200 years. There were undoubtedly other ceremonies conducted at Monks Mound and the Grand Plaza. Whether the ceremonies were yearly events, or for other reasons is not known. But when these ceremonies took place, people gathered from the immediate area. What else did they do while in Cahokia?

There would have been trading between the people from surrounding communities and the residents of Cahokia. Geographically, Cahokia was near the outlet of the Illinois and Missouri Rivers, so communication and trading by canoe was easy over a large area. The archaeological record shows the finer objects in Cahokia, and the surrounding communities had fewer and less good objects. People from all communities would have made their religious observances, led by the shamans resident in Cahokia. The leading shamans lived on one of the levels of Monks Mound, separated from the rest of the community to preserve the mystery involved in their ceremonies. It is known from the archaeological record that the shamans used psychoactive tobacco in their ceremonies. Tobacco pipes have been found at many Cahokian communities. One activity that took place was the smoothing of the Grand Plaza, which was kept clear during these ceremonies. Afterwards, a game was played on this plaza, which seems to have been the popular component of the ceremony.

The game is now called chunkey as we don't know what the participants called it. At the museum in Cahokia, there are many examples of the equipment used to play this game. This equipment has been found all over the U.S., at the archaeological sites of tribes related to the Cahokians. The game was witnessed by Europeans through the mid–1800s.

Chunkey was played on a level field. Most fields would have been in small villages, and were probably not too manicured, but were as flat as possible. In Cahokia, the game was played on the Grand Plaza,

which was artificially flattened, and covered with fine sand. The object of the game was the chunkey stone. This was a stone or clay disc, about the size of a modern hockey puck. It was not flat, having larger, rounded edges and a smaller center. The stone was thrown to roll on its edge, onto the flat ground. Then the players would throw 4- to 5-foot-long sticks, called chunkey sticks, at the disc. The players would either try to hit the disc to knock it over, or throw the stick to go into the ground where the disc would stop. The sticks were identified by colored strips tied to the stick. The game could be played individually or as teams. Current thinking is that when the game migrated to the Great Plains, it was played individually. In Cahokia and surrounding communities, it was a team game. If the Cahokians were like their descendants, these games were very important events. They were also the cause of large amounts of gambling, per European witnesses in the 18th and 19th centuries. The contests at Cahokia would have been between either kin groups, or various villages. The contests were played for some kind of stakes, but what kind is not known. The losers could have been shamed by or possibly indebted to the winners.

The chunkey sticks, found all over the U.S. from South Carolina to Montana, would have been made from local wood. Some have been found in tombs and other archaeological digs. Chunkey stones have been found in the same areas. The oldest chunkey stones are dated to around 600. After 1050, there is a change in the type of chunkey stone found in the Midwestern U.S. Stones became more standardized, and very similar to the stones used in Cahokia. It appears that material from the Cahokia area was used to make these stones, and the prominence of Cahokia caused areas surrounding to use their stones for the game. This continued until the decline of Cahokia in the late 1200s.

Cahokia was in an excellent natural location. However, there would have been lean years due to drought or flood. There is no indication of irrigation at Cahokia. However, there is evidence that the residents diverted one fork of Cahokia creek to combine with another creek in the area. This created a much larger, more convenient water source for the growing community. It also caused more floods. Sometime in the 1200s conditions became severe enough that the population of Cahokia began to decline. There is no evidence of a severe famine. People moved away, moving to other parts of the area. The specific reason(s) are not known. At the state park in Cahokia, four possible reasons are listed, with a money slot for you to make your own choice. Professor William Woods, an archeologist from the University of Kansas who has studied Cahokia, thinks that the downfall came

from the diversion of Cahokia creek, and several subsequent natural and political disasters. One scientific fact is that there was a large earthquake in the area in the early 1200s. This was from the same fault that caused a major earthquake in 1811. Part of Monks Mound collapsed, and had to be rebuilt. Professor Woods thinks this caused lack of confidence in the leaders, eventually leading to civil unrest. For whatever reason, by 1400, Cahokia as a large community had ceased to exist. But in 1200, it was thriving (Woods cited in Mann, *1491*).

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2

1204—The 4th Crusade in Constantinople

There was a long century of Crusading, starting in 1095 with the 1st Crusade, and ending in 1204 with the 4th Crusade. Crusading continued long after the 4th Crusade, as will be discussed later. However, the end of effective Crusading to the Holy Land came with the 4th Crusade.

A short summary of the prior Crusades is in order. After the call to liberate Jerusalem from the Saracens went out from Pope Urban II in 1095, there was an outpouring of support. This support resulted in two separate expeditions that made up the First Crusade. The popular expedition, led by Peter the Hermit, resulted in a march across Europe to Constantinople, and this expedition was wiped out by the Seljuk Turks soon after leaving Constantinople. The aristocratic expedition, led by several members of the nobility of what is now France, secured military success against the Islamic holders of the Holy Land. This resulted in the capture of Jerusalem in 1099. These victories were considered miraculous in Catholic Europe. Four Latin states resulted from the First Crusade. These were the County of Edessa, County of Antioch, County of Tripoli, and Kingdom of Jerusalem.

When the County of Edessa was conquered by Saracen forces in 1145, a call went out for a new Crusade in 1146. Again, two separate expeditions set out for the Holy Land. One traveled by sea, from England and Flanders. This expedition consisted of lesser nobility, and stopped in what is now Portugal for resupply. The local Christian leader, Afonso Henriques, secured supplies for the Crusaders and then asked for their help in capturing Lisbon, still held by Muslims. As that fit with their mission against Saracens, the Crusaders agreed. Lisbon was besieged and captured in October 1147. The Crusaders continued on next spring, some going directly to the Holy Land, some assisting local Christian forces to capture Tortosa on the eastern coast of Spain. The forces that made it to the Holy Land joined up with the other expedition. This expedition was led by King Louis VII of France and Emperor Conrad III of the Holy Roman Empire. This force marched through Europe to Constantinople. After consulting with the Byzantine Emperor, they marched on through Asia Minor. Both rulers were

defeated by Turkish forces. The surviving forces straggled on to Antioch, then Jerusalem. While there, they were talked into trying to conquer Damascus. The siege failed, and both rulers returned to Europe after their forces were mostly wiped out.

The main reason the First Crusade had been successful was the divisions among the Muslim rulers in the Middle East. That had changed by 1188. The areas now consisting of Iraq, Syria, Jordan and Egypt were united under one ruler, Salah al-din, better known in the West as Saladin. Saladin defeated the King of Jerusalem in battle at Hattin on July 4, 1187, and then besieged and captured Jerusalem in October 1187. Again a call for Crusade went out. A large force was recruited in Germany by Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, a veteran of the Second Crusade. This force marched to Constantinople, made it safely across Asia Minor before Frederick drowned trying to cross a river in what is now southern Turkey. His death devastated his force, which mostly broke up, only a small remnant making it to the Holy Land. Another force was led by King Phillip II of France and King Richard I of England. They left together on July 4, 1190, three years to the day after the battle of Hattin. They traveled by sea from Marseilles, after being joined by a fleet from England in the fall of 1190. This force made its slow way across the Mediterranean, arriving in Cyprus in May 1191. A dispute between Richard and the ruler of Cyprus led to Richard conquering the island in three weeks. Richard then followed Phillip to Acre, where a Christian army had been besieging the Muslim holders of the city. Acre surrendered to the Crusaders on July 12, 1191. Phillip left for France on August 3, leaving Richard in charge. There had been a ransom agreement to free the Muslim prisoners. After Saladin missed the first payment, Richard ordered the killing of all the prisoners. This took place on August 20, 1191. The rest of Richard's time in Palestine was taken up with first threatening, then negotiating with Muslim forces. He was not able to conquer Jerusalem, even after marching in that direction in early 1192. Richard and most of his forces left the Holy Land in October 1192. Their only accomplishment in Palestine had been recapture of Acre and Jaffa along the coast, and that was outweighed by the failure to capture Jerusalem.

In 1198, a new Pope was elected. He took the name of Innocent III. Innocent had been in the papal Curia before election, after his education at Paris. He was very familiar with how the prior Crusades had proceeded, and had strong opinions on what needed to be corrected. He tried to control the process by initiating the Crusade, setting up rules for how crusaders were treated both by their local secular and religious authorities, and generally making a Crusade into

a Church run project. His first attempt started on August 15, 1198. Innocent sent letters to churches across Europe, calling for a new Crusade to the Holy Land.

As has been seen in the prior Crusades, there was a popular element and an aristocratic element to this Crusade. Innocent tried to control the popular element by sponsoring a preaching campaign to drum up support. Innocent enlisted the most eloquent preachers under his authority. There were many, but the history of the most prominent of them will serve as an example. A parish priest named Fulk of Neuilly was enlisted, and given the territory of Flanders, Ile de France, Normandy, and Brittany. Fulk was a well-known charismatic preacher, who had made his name by calling for austere moral rearmament, just like modern evangelists. Even though Fulk was an establishment figure, he affected the common touch. He liked to call on prominent figures to change for the better. In one celebrated episode, which took place before his Crusade campaign, Fulk accused Richard the Lion Hearted to his face of pride, avarice, and sensuality. Richard had a stinging response: “I give my pride to the Templars, my avarice to the Cistercians, and my sensuality to the Benedictines.” Fulk was very successful in drumming up support, both monetary and human, before his death in 1201. Before and after his death, Fulk was accused of keeping the money he had collected for his own use. This same process went on throughout western Christendom. This money and human support were to be used by the aristocratic leaders.

Innocent would have like to have had a King leading this Crusade, as had been done during the 2nd and 3rd Crusades. The best candidate for this was Richard the Lion Hearted. Richard’s death on April 6, 1199, closed that possibility. Richard was killed while besieging a castle held by a supporter of Phillip II of France. The dispute between English and French kings had been going on for a long while, and required the nobles of what is now northern France and Belgium to take a side. Understandably, many of these nobles did not want to commit. One way to honorably stay on the fence was to go on Crusade. That path was taken by several closely related nobles by February 1200. The counts of Champagne, Blois, and Flanders became the leaders of the French contingent. Even though crusade recruitment took place from Ireland to the Adriatic, the forces from what is now northern France and Belgium were the largest. Other forces came from German lands. A German bishop was an example of the political and religious minefield that existed at this time. Conrad of Krosigk, the bishop of Halberstadt, was excommunicated in early 1202 by his church superior for supporting Phillip of Swabia, a contender for the imperial crown. Conrad became a crusader (took the cross) soon

afterward, in April 1202. Conrad accompanied the 4th Crusade until it ended in 1204. Then Conrad went to the Holy Land, in fulfillment of his vows. In June 1205, Conrad's excommunication was lifted by the Pope. We will see similar stories throughout this century.

In the summer of 1200, the French crusade leaders met and discussed how to proceed. While Count Theobald of Champagne was the initiator, there was not an acknowledged leader. The leaders acted collegially. The leaders decided that Egypt should be the destination, as it was the home base of the rulers of Jerusalem. Hence, sea transportation needed to be secured. A delegation of six ambassadors was sent to Italy to arrange transportation. This embassy tried Pisa and Genoa. Pisa and Genoa were locked in conflict, and could not spare the ships to transport an army. That left Venice. The ambassadors arrived in Venice in February 1201. Negotiations with the blind doge of Venice, Enrico Dandolo, ended in agreement in April. The Treaty of Venice was signed at St. Mark's Cathedral. Monetary terms were agreed, based on the Crusading force being around 33,500. Venice was to build and man the ships needed. Booty from the expedition was to be split 50/50. A secret section of the Treaty stated the destination would be Cairo, not Palestine. The army was to muster at Venice on June 29, 1202. The monetary terms were in line with the prices paid by Phillip II to Genoa in 1190.

Recruitment continued until the summer of 1202. The continued emphasis of the recruiting pitch was to go to Jerusalem. In early May 1201, Theobald of Champagne died, leaving a large amount of money to help pay for the Crusade. A new leader, Boniface of Montferrat, was selected in the summer of 1201. The change from a young French count, known to all the French nobles going on Crusade, to an older Italian was surprising. Boniface went to visit Phillip of Swabia in late 1201. There he met Phillip's brother in law, the exiled Byzantine pretender Alexis Angelus. This meeting was on Boniface's mind when the forces started mustering near Venice in the summer of 1202.

The crusaders made their way to Italy. Some went to other parts of Italy, and ended up taking other actions. An example of this was Walter of Brienne. He was a noble from northern France who took a small force to southern Italy, expecting to secure passage to the Holy Land. While there, he was persuaded by Pope Innocent III to fight in Papal service against the pretender to the throne of the Kingdom of Sicily. The main muster of troops was on the island of Lido in Venice lagoon. By September 1202, it was clear that the total number of Crusaders was about 12,000, well short of the agreed upon amount in the Treaty of Venice. Venice had built the number of vessels specified

by the Treaty. After the Crusaders paid the money available in September 1202, it was 40 percent short of the Treaty amount. Doge Dandolo was is a quandary. He had committed Venice, a commercial republic, to this religious venture. Now there would be a large financial loss to absorb. Dandolo suggested to the leaders of the Crusade that they could assist the Venetians in capturing the port of Zara, just south of Venice on the Dalmatian coast. The Crusader's booty from this capture could be used to pay off their debt. After consultation, the Crusaders agreed.

The fleet and army left Venice, without Boniface, in October 1202. While moored outside Zara, Dandolo negotiated with the Zarans for their surrender. The Zarans were ready to surrender on November 12, but were talked out of it by dissident Crusaders, led by Simon of Montfort. These dissidents told the Zarans that the Crusaders would never attack. After a siege was instituted, Zara surrendered on November 24. Agreement was made to save the citizens, but the assets of the citizens and the city were divided between the Venetians and the Crusaders. Pope Innocent heard of the expedition to Zara, and condemned it unconditionally. Zara had been subject to Venice about 50 years earlier. At the time of the siege, it was subject to the King of Hungary, who had taken the cross. The Pope excommunicated the Venetians, whom he blamed for the action. Now the Crusaders were in the uncomfortable position of being transported on their Crusade by excommunicates. Innocent's idea of having papal and secular leadership of this Crusade was not working out.

In December 1202, Boniface joined the Crusaders in Zara, accompanied by Alexis Angelus. Alexis Angelus had been trying to secure help to overthrow his uncle, Byzantine Emperor Alexis III, for the last couple of years. He had tried the Pope and been turned down. After trying other leaders, Alexis Angelus ended up at the court of Phillip of Swabia, husband of his sister Irene. Alexis Angelus worked on Boniface to go along with his plan. By December 1202, the Crusaders were willing. The reason for their agreement was their debt to the Venetians. The debt had been paid down by the proceeds from Zara, but a large amount was still due. The Venetians were in favor, and had long experience of dealing with Constantinople. Some of the noble leaders left the expedition after the decision was made to go to Constantinople. However, the rank and file was now mercenary, willing to follow their leaders as long as they were paid and had prospects for further booty.

In 1202, Constantinople was the capital of the Byzantine Empire, and by far the richest and largest city in Europe, although the empire was

a shell of its former self. Since 1180, its power and extent had steadily decreased. Most of the army and navy were foreign mercenaries. The economy of Constantinople was run by Italians, Jews, and Armenians. Parts of the empire, such as Serbia, Bulgaria and Cyprus, were wrenched away from Constantinople. Between 1180 and 1204, fifty-eight coups, rebellions and conspiracies against the sitting emperors have been counted. Both the Venetians and Alexis Angelus felt that installing Alexis Angelus was possible. The possibility of winning lands in the empire was a powerful stimulant to many of the noble leaders remaining with the Crusade. Alexis Angelus offered to submit the Greek Church to Roman authority. This offer did not persuade Pope Innocent to bless the expedition to Constantinople. Innocent issued his prohibition to the Crusaders on April 21, 1203, just after the expedition left Zara for Corfu. The Crusader fleet, advertised as going to Palestine, intended for Egypt, left Corfu for Constantinople on May 24, 1203.

The fleet arrived at Scutari, on the Asiatic shore opposite Constantinople, on June 24, 1203. Contact with Constantinople made two facts clear. Alexis III refused to surrender, and his subjects had no enthusiasm for Alexis Angelus. On July 17, an amphibious attack was launched from the Crusader camp at Galata across the Golden Horn on Constantinople. The assault established a small beachhead, and started a large fire that destroyed about 120 acres of the city. Alexis III fled the city. Alexis Angelus' father, the blinded Isaac II, was released and crowned joint co-emperor with his son on August 1, 1203. Their first act was to hand over enough money to pay most of the Crusaders' debt to the Venetians. Alexis Angelus, now Alexis IV, tried to live up to his side of the bargain. He stripped churches and homes of any treasure he could to pay his protectors. He tried to make the churches in the empire subject to Rome. Both these actions were very unpopular with his subjects. Alexis IV took to staying with the Crusaders in Galata for his own protection.

The anti-western faction in the city coalesced around Alexis III's son-in law, known as Murzuphlus. On January 1, 1204, Murzuphlus attacked the western fleet with fireships, but failed to destroy the fleet. Murzuphlus led a new coup on January 28. Isaac II was imprisoned, and soon died. Murzuphlus, now known as Alexis V, negotiated with the Crusaders until February 8. On that date Alexis IV was murdered. Western propaganda said the deed was done personally by Alexis V.

At this point, the westerners felt their only option was to conquer the city. Constantinople was their only source of supply. They had been raiding neighboring areas unsuccessfully to try to secure funds and

supplies. Other sovereigns in the area, like King Joannitza of Bulgaria, were ready to take advantage of the chaos in Constantinople. If the Crusaders were to get to Jerusalem, or Egypt, the necessary funds and supplies were in only one place, Constantinople. Hence, they agreed to take this step.

An agreement was reached between the Venetians and the military leaders. The Venetians were to receive the remaining amount due them under the Treaty of Venice. After that was paid, everything else was to be split 50/50 between the Venetians and the Crusaders. Women and clergy were to be respected, and rape and despoiling churches were banned, on pain of death. The future ruler of Constantinople would be chosen by a committee of twelve, six Venetians and six Crusaders. The rest of the empire would be shared out by another committee. It was agreed the army would stay on for a year, until March 1205. The leaders justified these actions to their followers by claiming their actions were just and lawful, and that the Greeks were enemies of God.

On April 9, attacks began across the Golden Horn on the north shore of Constantinople. By April 12, the walls were breached, and the crusaders started a fire that spread to most of the city. Alexis V fled on April 13, and no serious resistance was left. There had been indiscriminate violence and pillage during the attack. This was reined in by April 14. The next couple of days were spent systematically sacking the city. After this was complete, the accounted for funds secured were enough to fund a European state for a decade. That was about half the money taken, the rest being kept by the individuals doing the looting. This excludes the vast numbers of relics secured by churchmen. In the morays of the day, this was not a war crime, but the normal fate of a defeated city. We will witness in this century many cities that suffered worse fates.

The Venetians took their money and established themselves commercially in Constantinople, expelling their rivals from Genoa and Pisa. Doge Enrico Dandolo died in Venice in 1205, after fulfilling one of the most profitable transport contracts in history. Baldwin of Flanders was elected the emperor of the Latin Kingdom of Constantinople. Other parts of the empire were parceled out to other Latin lords. Pope Innocent condemned the capture and sack of Constantinople, and reached out diplomatically to Greek successor regimes in Asia Minor. Innocent officially canceled the crusade in 1205, by which time most of the Crusaders were either ensconced in their new domains, or back home much richer than when they set out. Innocent had learned a lot from the course of the 4th Crusade to apply

to the remainder of his reign. Crusading would continue, as we will see. It never again was a popular movement to retake the Holy Land.

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3

1206—The Acclamation of Genghis Khan in Mongolia

In spring of 1206, the leader of an obscure tribe in the lands south of Lake Baikal called a *quriltai* (meeting) of his subjects. At this meeting a new standard was raised consisting of nine yak tails. The leader Temujin was acclaimed with a new name, Genghis Khan. This ceremony was little noted outside of Mongolia. However, Genghis Khan was to become the most influential person in the world in the 13th century.

Mongolia was an unlikely environment for a great empire to arise. And the environment was the biggest factor in shaping the peoples that had come out of this area. What is now Mongolia lies in the eastern part of the largest continuous steppe on Earth. This rolling grassland stretches from the plain of Hungary in Europe, through the areas north of the Black, Caspian, and Aral Seas, through the Dzungaria Gap of northwest China, to the Mongolian Plateau, ending in Manchuria. This steppe is bordered by forests on the north, and deserts or mountains on the south. Except in eastern China, where interactions between the steppe peoples and the Chinese have been noted since the beginning of recorded history, steppe peoples were isolated by distance. By the first century bce, steppe peoples had become proficient enough at raising and riding horses to become a threat to the littoral civilizations stretching along southern Eurasia from Rome to eastern China. It appears that steppe culture, which was pastoral, not agricultural, started in the western steppe (what is now Ukraine) and spread east. The steppe environment was harsher in the east. Hence, eastern steppe tribes would try to raid and pillage northern China. If China was politically and militarily weak, that would be sufficient. If China was politically and militarily strong, the raids would be unsuccessful, China would attack the tribes, and the tribes would start moving west. This happened several times between 156 bce and 1200. Two examples of tribes that had arisen in Mongolia, attacked China, and moved west were the Huns (Hiung-Nu in China) and the Turks (Tu-chueh in China). Each time one of the peoples of the eastern steppe moved west by attacking and defeating neighboring tribes, a chain reaction across the steppe would set in. All the neighboring states would be affected by these movements.

The situation in 1206 reflected this process. In northern China, two successive steppe peoples from Manchuria had taken over the Yellow River valley. In the 11th century, the Khitans, a tribe from southern Manchuria, had defeated the Sung rulers of China, and confined the Sung to southern China. In the early 12th century, the Sung made an alliance with the Jurchets, a tribe from northern Manchuria. The Jurchets defeated the Khitans. The Sung ruler expected the Jurchets to hand northern China back to him. That did not happen, as the Jurchets formed a new kingdom in north China, calling themselves the Kin (gold). Some leaders of the Khitans escaped to what is now northwestern China, and eventually formed a polity called Kara-Khitai. This empire spread from Dzungaria to the area between the Caspian and Aral Seas. Just east and south of Kara-Khitai, based in Tibet and the Ordos Loop, was the state of Hsi-Hsia, which had been established by another Manchurian tribe. Kara-Khitai tried to conquer Hsi-Hsia, but was turned back. So, Kara-Khitai expanded west, defeating the Turks who held northern Iran. This caused the rise of another Turkish tribe based in the district of Khwaresm. The Khwaresmians then expanded from northern Iran to Tashkent and Samarkand. If one went further south, other steppe created entities would be visible in India and the Middle East.

The main reason for this steppe dominance was military. On steppe lands, military forces from the settled states had a very small chance of success. When the settled states adapted steppe military techniques, the littoral states had some chance of defending themselves. When the light cavalry of steppe peoples attacked littoral states, only the strongest and most stable states could successfully resist. This happened with Rome until the 4th century, Arabs until the 11th century, and China at times when a strong dynasty existed. Otherwise the Darwinian struggle for dominance on the steppe produced military superiority. This had been shown by all the steppe peoples that had conquered areas in China, India, Iran, Iraq, southern Russia and Hungary.

At the time of the birth of Temujin (date is not known, but estimated between 1162 and 1167), the powerful steppe tribes had moved away from Mongolia. There were five main tribes on the Mongolian plateau. We know these tribes as Merkits, Tatars, Kereits, Naimans, and Mongols. The tribes competed with each other for the best pastures and hunting grounds. The tribes would go into the forest lands near Lake Baikal to secure supplies, and for forest hunting. They all had trade contacts with the states south of Mongolia. The tribes constantly raided each other. One result of these raids was kidnapping women. All the tribes practiced polygamy. Often a tribal leader’s wives would

be from a different tribe, as the women had been taken in a raid. One Mongol chief, Yesugei, had kidnapped a Merkit woman named Oyelun shortly after she had been married. Yesugei made Oyelun his wife. While Oyelun was pregnant with their first child, Yesugei led a raid against a Tatar band. Yesugei captured two minor chiefs like himself. In Mongolia, a male child was often named after a distinguished enemy taken in war. When Oyelun delivered a male child, it was named after the elder of the Tatar chiefs, Temujin (which means blacksmith or one who works iron).

The culture Temujin was born into was pastoral. A man's worth was measured by the size of his pastures and flocks. Physical action was paramount. No one was literate. Knowledge and traditions were handed down orally. All our information about the early life of Genghis Khan comes from a book compiled after his death, called the Secret History of the Mongols. This book was written in a language called Uighur, spoken by a steppe people who had become literate. It was written about a man who had become an iconic hero. Some of the stories are more of a god than a man. This is not a surprise, as Genghis has been venerated since his death. However, the facts that can be teased out about Genghis' rise to power are remarkable.

Yesugei was a member of the Borjigin clan. Leaders of the Mongols from the Borjigin clan had negotiated with the Jurchets, but the Jurchets decided to ally with the Tatars. One of the Borjigin leaders, the Mongol Khan Ambakhai, was captured by the Tatars and turned over to the Jurchets. He was executed by the Kin Emperor by impalement on the knife-backed effigy of a donkey. As he died, Ambakhai swore vengeance on his enemies. His warriors tried to extract this vengeance, but were defeated by the combined armies of the Tatars and Jurchets in 1161. Yesugei was one of the Mongol survivors of this battle. Yesugei retreated further north on the Mongolian plateau, and became a leader of a small band of Mongols. His life was tenuous, defending his flocks and pastures and conducting raids of neighboring bands like his own. Yesugei found a wife for Temujin when Temujin was nine. Her name was Borte, the daughter of the leader of the tribe Oyelun had been born into. Temujin was left with Borte's family. When Temujin was about ten, he lost his father as a consequence of a past raid. Yesugei was on a short trip by himself when he stopped to take a meal with a band of Tatars. Yesugei had participated in many successful raids against Tatars. This band recognized Yesugei, and poisoned his food. Yesugei returned home and died of the poisoning. He sent for Temujin before he died. When Temujin returned from Borte's family to his own, he discovered he was now the head of Yesugei's band.

Yesugei's followers left to join another small band, rather than be led by a child. Oyelun and her family had to survive the best they could. The Secret History tells a story that some of Yesugei's old followers returned and asked Oyelun to give them Temujin so they could kill him, and then they would leave Oyelun and the rest of her family alone. Oyelun sent Temujin away, with a horse to help him escape. Temujin had to hide in the country around the source of the Onon River without supplies, and being hunted. After a week or so, Temujin made his way back home. He had passed the first test of a leader at the age of ten.

Life soon became better for this family. They were able to build up their flocks. Temujin was learning how to be a leader on the steppes. After his herd of horses became big enough, raiders came and ran off a portion of the herd. Temujin set off in pursuit. While chasing the raiders, he passed an encampment of strangers. He asked one of them if the raiders had passed. The man told him where the raiders had gone, then saddled up his own horse and joined Temujin and helped Temujin get the horses back. This man, called Bogurchi, was the first of many affected by Temujin's charisma. Bogurchi eventually became a trusted general in the Mongol army.

At the age of eighteen, Temujin went to Borte's family to claim his bride. This helped him in his ambitions to rise above the politics of survival. Borte's tribe was now allied to Temujin. One of the wedding gifts was a robe of black sable. Temujin took this robe and gave it to the khan of the Kereits, reminding the khan of past services provided by Yesugei, and declaring himself an ally of the Kereits. This action paid off soon after the wedding. Other clans of the Merkit tribe were still bitter that Yesugei had kidnapped Oyelun from a member of their tribe. Soon after Temujin married Borte, a Merkit party raided Temujin's camp and carried off Borte. The circumstances of the raid wounded Temujin's pride, as he had to flee immediately due to being outnumbered by the Merkits. Temujin went to the Kereit khan and asked for help in recovering his wife. The Kereits had no love for the Merkit, and gladly helped Temujin in punishing the Merkits, recovering Borte in the process.

Higher politics now helped Temujin in his rise. The Jurchets had been allied to the Tatars. The Tatars were becoming too powerful for the Jurchets. The Jurchets changed their strategy by dropping the Tatars and supporting the Kereits in 1194. The Jurchets prompted the Kereits to attack the Tatars. As Temujin's ancestor had been betrayed by the Tatars, he needed no persuasion to join the Kereit attack. This attack was successful, mostly due to Temujin's support. The Tatar leader was

killed, and Tatar assets divided up between the Mongols and Kereits. But the Tatars continued to exist, and allied themselves to other tribes in the area. Two more battles between the Mongol/Kereit alliance and the Tatars alliance took place, with victory going to the Mongol/Kereit army. After these battles, Temujin felt he could deal with the Tatars on his own. In 1202 he overwhelmed the Tatar army, rounded up their people, and ordered every male among them taller than the hub of a wagon wheel to be slaughtered. The Mongols raised the remaining boys as Mongols, and took the women and girls as wives and concubines.

The Kereit khan was now suspicious of the former ally. A year after the destruction of the Tatars, the Kereits attacked. This led to a battle that lasted three days, with the Mongols prevailing. The Kereits surrendered, and were not massacred. The Kereits were incorporated into the Mongol tribes. The remaining tribe on the Mongolian plateau was the Naimans. The Naiman khan attacked Temujin in 1204. Temujin defeated the Naimans. The Naimans were incorporated into the Mongol tribes after surrendering. By 1205, the whole Mongolian plateau was under Temujin's rule.

The quriltai called in 1206 was to proclaim a new leader, Genghis, as their Khan. Genghis means "all that is encompassed by the world-girdling ocean." The sources give different dates as to when Temujin became Genghis (The Secret History in 1200, Persian sources in 1203, Chinese sources at this quriltai). As the Mongols now became important to the world around the Mongolian plateau, we will use 1206 as the date. At the ceremonial proclamation, Genghis changed the name of his followers from "all the tribes who live in felt tents" to Mongols. He demanded unfaltering obedience, even to the point of inflicting instant death should he so rule. He was in the prime of life, around forty. He had gathered up military leaders whose names would resound throughout Eurasia. Some of the most prominent: Bogurchi, who became a follower while helping Temujin recover stolen horses; Jebei "the Arrow," who had killed one of Temujin's favorite horses in a battle, then admitted it after being captured; Mukali, who had been presented to Temujin by his father, and developed into a fine soldier; Jelme, who had been presented to Temujin by his father as well, and who spent a night on a battlefield sucking the blood out of a wound from a poisoned arrow on Temujin's neck; and greatest of them all, Jelme's younger brother Subodei, who came to be considered an equal of Genghis as a military leader. These men, under the guidance of Genghis, then guiding Genghis' successors, led the conquest of the largest land-based empire in history.

Genghis' army was the instrument of this conquest. In 1206, the army consisted of one arm, cavalry. All the fighting the Mongols had done so far had been on the steppe, or closely neighboring mountains and deserts. Long experience, dating back to the Huns and before, had shown that well trained light cavalry was unstoppable on open terrain. The only way neighboring states could defeat steppe forces on the steppe was to adopt their way of fighting. Some Chinese dynasties had been able to do this, but only for short periods of time. Otherwise, steppe peoples had to be drawn out of the steppe to be defeated.

The Mongols were the finest cavalry the world had yet seen. This was due to their environment, and the fact that every healthy male was a soldier. The Mongol way of life conditioned them to life on horseback. A Mongol boy was put on the back of a sheep by the age of three, eventually graduated to horses, and spent most of the remainder of his life on horseback. Livestock of all kinds were their main assets, and Mongols drew virtually everything that could be extracted from livestock to survive. Horses were used for everyday transportation and the best horses were reserved for military use. When the Mongols went to war, each trooper had at least 4 horses with him, owned by him. Horses were the source of the Mongol's favorite alcoholic drink, koumiss, which was fermented mare's milk. As the Mongols and their horses were toughened by the varieties of weather conditions on the steppe, they were able to travel much faster than their opponents through any kind of weather. Other kinds of livestock were also kept by the Mongols. Hence, when the army marched, most of its food accompanied them on the hoof. Their clothing and armor consisted of leather. The main weapons of the army were composite bows and swords. They had to secure wood and metal to create wagons, swords, bow and arrows. This was accomplished by trade with neighboring tribes or pillage of defeated opponents. There was no pay to the troopers, but any booty secured by conquest was divided out using a traditional method. At this time, Genghis had no firsthand knowledge how settled societies lived. He knew he had to conquer other areas, to satisfy and pay his army.

Genghis rose to his status mostly by fighting. He was a product of a severe environment, where tribal or political entities either conquered or were conquered. He had no intention of being conquered. Genghis had no formal philosophy of life. The closest approximation we have is in a statement attributed to Genghis. "The joy of man lies in treading down the enemy, tearing him up by the root, taking from him all that he has; in making his servants wail so that the tears flow from eyes and nose; in riding pleasantly on his well-fed geldings; in making one's bed upon the belly and navel of his wives, in kissing and

sucking their scarlet lips." (Quote from Legg, The Heartland, London, p. 277) He certainly would pursue this for the rest of his life. He would soon come into contact with societies totally different than the steppe culture he was familiar with. How the Mongols dealt with sedentary societies, and how those societies affected the Mongols will be a continuing subject for the rest of this book.

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4

1212—Iberia, the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa

Today, there are two main states on the Iberian Peninsula, Spain and Portugal. In 1212, there were many more. This was due to the decline and break-up of the Cordoban caliphate, declared in 929 by Abd al-Rahman III. Abd al-Rahman III was the ruler of virtually the entire peninsula in 929. He was a successor of Abd al-Rahman, who had come to Spain in 755 from Damascus in the aftermath of his family, the Umayyads, losing the leadership of the Muslim world to another family, the Abbasids. The Iberian Peninsula had been conquered in the early 700s during the astonishing expansion of Arab power after the revelation of Muhammad. This process took Arab armies deep into France before being defeated by Charles Martel at Tours in 732. Abd al-Rahman was able to consolidate the various political entities and take over as Emir in 756. His rule lasted for 32 years. The rule of the peninsula by his descendants continued until the early 1000s.

The emirate was ruled from Cordoba, which became the most cultured city in Europe. Iberia had been home to a sizeable Jewish population since the failure of the two Jewish revolts in Palestine of 66–70 and 134. This was considered the start of the diaspora of Jews, who had been settling around the Mediterranean for a couple centuries. Many ended up in Iberia, happily settling under Roman rule and avoiding politics as much as possible. When Roman rule collapsed, Iberia was conquered by Visigoths, who ruled between about 400 and 711. The Visigoths were originally Arian Christians, but eventually converted to Roman Catholicism. In the last century of their rule, Visigoth rulers persecuted Jews. They forbade circumcision and other Jewish religious observances. Jews were taxed heavily, not allowed to run businesses and abused physically. Many were forcibly converted, but continued to practice Judaism privately. This was the origination of the marrano, or secret Jew, that became important later in Spanish history. So, when Arab forces crossed the Strait of Gibraltar in 711, Jews were helpful to the Muslims.

After Abd al-Rahman took power in 756, there were three large religious communities in Iberia. Muslims were the rulers. At the time they constituted the smallest of the three communities in terms of

numbers, but their status as rulers led to the adoption of Islam by others, and the adoption by all peoples of the peninsula of Arabic as the main language. Jews were probably a slightly larger community than Muslims. Jews were based in cities, and dominant in trade and the lower government offices. The leaders of the Jewish community were intellectuals who had gone through rigorous study. Christians and pagans were the vast majority of the populace, concentrated in the peasantry. The numbers of Christians and pagans would decrease significantly over the next four centuries, as many converted to Islam. This happened for reasons such as intermarriage, desire to get ahead with the dominant culture, economic status and social status.

During the rule of the Umayyads, Jews and Christians were treated well. A recent book about this period in Iberia is subtitled “How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain.” (Menocal, Maria; Ornament of the World: Boston, Little Brown, 2002) The three groups got along better in Spain than any other place in Europe. The Arab rulers were happy to have productive Jewish and Christian communities who could be taxed, and help them govern. Cultural activities were centered in Cordoba. There were many products of this cultural synthesis. Many books from ancient Greek and Latin had been lost to the West, but preserved in Arabic translations. A number of translations to Latin were made in Cordoba, which then became available north of the Pyrenees. The first paper manufacture in Europe was begun near Valencia, to supply paper for the multiple libraries in Cordoba. The buildings built by the Umayyads reflected Arabic influences. This was reflected in Iberian synagogues and churches. The guitar was introduced to Europe through Spain during this period. Christian visitors from northern Europe were astonished by the wealth of al-Andalus, the name of this polity.

The unity of al-Andalus broke up in the early 11th century. During their initial invasion, the Umayyads had been aided by Berber forces from North Africa. The Berbers in al-Andalus eventually became mercenaries, who saw the Ummayad rulers as effete aristocrats, and resented their treatment by the rulers. The mercenaries overthrew the Ummayads by 1009. They captured Cordoba in 1013, massacring the Jewish population there in the same year. In the wake of the overthrow of central rule, many small city-states called taifas were formed in the territory that had been al-Andalus. Even at the height of Arabic expansion, there had been small Christian kingdoms in the northwest of the peninsula. These kingdoms, which included Leon, Castile, Aragon, and Catalonia, started to expand southward after 1020.

The official dissolution of the Cordoban Caliphate was declared in 1031. The Muslim rulers in what is now Morocco cast a greedy eye on the various taifas that were in what is now Spain and Portugal. Two successive dynasties, first the Alomoravids in 1086, then the Almohads in 1141 invaded from North Africa. These rulers were more fundamentalist, wavering back and forth between milking the Jewish and Christian communities for taxes or making them choose between forcible conversion to Islam or exile. By this time, Christians had the choice of going a short way north. Alfonso VI of Leon and Castile had been expanding his kingdom from northern Spain to the center of the peninsula. Alfonso had been the protector of the taifa of Toledo since around 1075. In 1085, he ejected the current taifa, and took Toledo into his kingdom. Toledo had been ruled by a tolerant Muslim taifa. Hence, many Jews and moderate Muslims had come from Cordoba to Toledo. Toledo became the new center for translation in the peninsula, under the patronage of Alfonso and his successors.

During the 12th century, the political and military situation in the peninsula was fluid. The taifas gradually disappeared, being replaced by larger political entities. Alfonso VI ceded part of his lands to his son-in-law and illegitimate daughter in 1094, which was the origination of the Kingdom of Portugal. Across the Christian north of the peninsula, the domains of Leon, Castile, Aragon and Catalonia were the major entities. All continued to expand south when the Muslim rulers were weak. There were many marriage alliances between these Christian kingdoms. In the Muslim ruled part of the peninsula, the Almoravids became weaker, until they were conquered by the Almohads in 1141. The Almohads did not totally consolidate their rule until 1172. In the meantime, Christian kingdoms took over some previously Muslim territory. An example was cited in the 1204 chapter, when Crusaders helped Afonso Henriques of Portugal to take Lisbon in 1147. Another example was the conquest of Badajoz by Portuguese forces in 1169. Afonso Henriques let the Muslim ruler remain, but Badajoz was subject to tribute to Portugal. Military religious orders were founded in all the Christian kingdoms. Some of these orders were local chapters of the already existing Templars and Hospitallers. Others were indigenous to Iberia, such as the Order of Calatrava and the Order of Alcantara.

By 1172, the Almohads had consolidated their rule within the old Almoravid state. The Almohads were now free to commence hostilities against the Christian states. These attacks went on in an uncoordinated manner for the next twelve years, sometimes favoring the Almohads, sometimes favoring the various Christian states. In 1184, the Almohad ruler Abu Yaqub Yusuf assembled a large army in

Morocco and crossed the straits to deal with Portugal. This army besieged Santarem. Afonso Henriques defended the town, with the help of Ferdinand II of Leon. The Christian army attacked when the siege was lifted, sending the Almohad army fleeing, and mortally wounding Abu Yaqub Yusuf. His successor, al-Mansur, took the army back to Morocco, and left the Christians free to resume their raids on Almohad territory.

In 1195 al-Mansur took advantage of a dispute between the rulers of Leon and Castile to proclaim a holy war. The King of Castile, Alfonso VIII, gathered an army to meet the Muslim force at Alarcos. The result was a Christian defeat, and retreat to Toledo. Al-Mansur followed this victory with occupation of the areas south of Toledo, but did not invest Toledo. He took the spoils of victory back to Seville, not realizing that this was the last great victory of the Muslims in Spain. The Christian rulers of Leon, Castile, Navarre, and Aragon made various marriage and other alliances for the next few years. By the year 1209 they had settled their disputes, and were in concord at last.

After this concord, the military orders and the bishop of Toledo wished to resume hostilities against the Almohads. Pope Innocent III sent a letter to Alfonso VIII of Castile in 1209 urging him to lead a Crusade against the Muslims. Alfonso's son and heir, Ferdinand, took the cross. The pope asked other princes in the peninsula to follow his example, threatening them with excommunication if they fought their Christian neighbors. By May 1211, several Christian raids had taken place, resulting in territory changing hands in Valencia and south of Toledo. The new Almohad ruler, al-Nasir, led an army from Morocco across the straits to the castle of Salvatierra, held by the Order of Calatrava. Al-Nasir besieged this castle until July 1211, when it surrendered to him. Al-Nasir boasted of his triumph, but put his troops in winter quarters in Cordoba rather than attack Toledo.

During the next eleven months, the Christian kingdoms gathered forces to deal with al-Nasir. The Church's call for aid had produced some volunteers from Italy, France and Germany. This force supplemented troops from Castile and Aragon. Portugal and Leon were involved in a dispute over territory and did not send official military units, but some subjects from both kingdoms participated in this campaign. On June 20, 1212, this army set out from Toledo. The army marched as three columns, one led by Alfonso VIII of Castile and consisting of Castilian troops, another led by Pedro II of Aragon and consisting of troops from Aragon, and the third led by the lord of Vizcaya consisting of troops from beyond the Pyrenees. On June 24, the foreign force seized the castle of Malagon, and killed the entire

garrison. On July 1, Alfonso secured the castle of Calatrava after allowing the defenders to leave. At this point most of the troops from beyond the Pyrenees returned home, complaining of the heat and lack of booty. The Christian troops were reinforced by a contingent led by Sancho VII of Navarre. The army marched south, reaching Las Navas de Tolosa on July 13.

Al-Nasir had led his army from Cordoba, and reached Las Navas de Tolosa on the same date. The opposing armies prepared for battle. Battle was joined on July 16. The kings of Aragon and Navarre led wings of the army in a successful pincer movement. Then the king of Castile attacked the center of the Almohad line. Al-Nasir was almost captured, fleeing the battlefield. Muslim casualties were much greater than Christian casualties, and the booty was very gratifying to the Christian leaders. Alfonso VIII sent a hyperbolic victory message, along with al-Nasir's standard and tent, to Pope Innocent III: "On their side 100,000 armed men or more fell in the battle, according to the estimate of the Saracens whom we captured. But the army of the Lord … incredible though it may be, unless it be a miracle, hardly 25 or 30 Christians of our whole army fell. O what happiness! O what thanksgiving, though one might lament that so few martyrs from such a great army went to Christ in martyrdom" (O'Callaghan, p. 193). The Christian force moved south for the next few days, before lack of supplies and increased sickness in the army led to a return to Toledo.

The balance of power in the peninsula had been shifting from the Muslim kingdoms to the Christian kingdoms for the past 200 years. Las Navas de Tolosa ended the threat of Almohad expansion, and the balance of power changed decisively to the Christians. The growing strength of the Christian kingdoms would result in the conquest of most of the remaining territory in al-Andalus by the end of this century, as we shall see.

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5

1214—The Mongol Advance into North China

Genghis Khan had distributed many gifts at the Mongol quriltai in 1206. The largest prizes were reserved for his own family. He had four sons by Borte, his first and favorite wife: Juchi, Chagatai, Ogedai, and Tului. His mother Oyelun was still alive, as well as a full brother, Juchi Khassar. All received grazing grounds, herds, and tents. A tent meant rule over the family in the tent. For example, Oyelun received 10,000 tents, with sufficient land and livestock to maintain that many tents. All other relatives, including wives, received lesser amounts. The princes of Genghis' house would rule an appanage, or portion of the empire. The real estate of the empire would belong to Genghis' family and descendants. This would be the basis of its rule, subject to Genghis remaining supreme commander and law-giver. The booty from the conquering of other tribes on the Mongolian plateau had satisfied Genghis' followers for now, but Genghis knew that more would soon be necessary. Genghis Khan had been formed by struggle and war. That was the life he knew, and he did not intend to rest on his laurels. He viewed Mongolia as the center of his realm, which would continually expand.

The political aristocracy of this empire was Genghis' family. The kernel of the military aristocracy was the leaders cited in the 1206 chapter, who would lead large portions of the army under Genghis' command. Another institution of this aristocracy was the Guard. Prior to the 1206 quriltai, the Guard had been a small bodyguard of 150 men responsible for Genghis' personal security. Now Genghis expanded it to an elite division of 10,000 young cavalrymen. The ranks of its privates were open to all of sufficient ability. Its officers were the sons of chiefs and trusted officers. The Guard did not take the field unless the Khan was present. It served as a school for senior officers and a crack reserve in case of emergency in battle. Genghis instituted a special service of "Arrow" messengers. This was his long-distance messenger service. The messenger had absolute priority while taking a message to or from the Khan. The messengers were wrapped in leather, expected to ride day and night, and had access to the best remounts on their route. At this same time, Genghis conducted a military census of his subjects. He wanted to know how many men he

had available. He wanted to make sure that the conquered tribes had been dispersed in his army so they could not combine and rebel against him.

Genghis knew he could secure the rewards necessary to keep his troops happy, and the resources unavailable on the steppe in two ways, trade or conquest. Genghis made the decision for conquest. He felt it was necessary to tap the wealth of the neighboring realms, but by limited contact. He was always worried that continual contact with the settled world would weaken the resolve of his troopers. This decision was not final or all-inclusive. As late as 1218, Genghis would try to avoid a war by initiating trade. But for now, conquest was chosen.

Genghis' choice of opponents was guided by geography and circumstances. Mongolia is land-locked, so he had to deal with borders in all directions. North of Mongolia was the Siberian forest. There were no organized states there, and those tribes had a longstanding trade relationship with the Mongols. To the west was Kara-Khitai, ruled by Turks. This was another steppe empire. The Mongols knew from their experience of expansion in Mongolia how tough other steppe tribes were in battle. To the west of Kara-Khitai was the rapidly growing Khwaresmian empire. Khwaresm was based in Iran, ruled by Turks, and rapidly expanding eastward, encroaching on Kara-Khitai. To the south was the state of Hsi-Hsia, based in north China and Tibet. The rulers of Hsi-Hsia were Tangut, of Tibetan background. To the southeast and east was the Kin Empire, based in northeast China and Manchuria. South of that was Sung China, now based on the Yangtze valley after being expelled from north China by the Kin. Genghis had been gathering intelligence on these states from merchants and travelers for the past few years. He knew that the Turkish states constituted the greatest long-term threat to his safety, but Khwaresm and Kara-Khitai were fighting each other, so he could postpone dealing with them. The Kin Empire would supply the most booty, but also had the largest opposing forces. Genghis was not afraid of the Kin forces, and knew he would soon attack this empire. It happened that soon after he made this decision, an embassy arrived from the Kin to inform him of the death of their Emperor. Genghis asked who would succeed to the throne. When given the name of Wei-shao, Genghis exclaimed that the man was an idiot, and spat in the direction of north China. The embassy left and reported Genghis' provocative behavior to Wei-shao.

Genghis did not attack the Kin right away. He would secure his flank, and open a flank onto the Kin Empire by conquering Hsi-Hsia. In 1207

the Mongol army crossed the Gobi Desert without difficulty. The first obstacle in northern Hsi-Hsia was the fortified town of Volohai. Genghis had never attacked a fortified town before, and had no siege equipment. He started a siege, which did not satisfy his troopers. Several spontaneous and uncoordinated attacks were made on the walls of Volohai, causing large losses to the Mongols and making no dent in the defenses. Genghis had to resort to a clever ruse to take the town. He told the town commander that he would lift the siege in exchange for a thousand cats and ten thousand swallows. The commander complied with the demand. That evening, the Mongols put inflammable material on each animal and bird. At a signal, all the material was lit, and the animals and birds released in the direction of Volohai. The creatures fled back into town, and started numerous fires. This allowed the Mongols to enter the city, and take Volohai (Legg, p. 248). The king of Hsi-Hsia now wished to stall for time and improve his defenses. He offered terms, and Genghis accepted. Genghis withdrew to Mongolia to train his army in how to deal with fortified towns and the armies of a sedentary society. When the tribute required by the peace terms did not arrive in 1209, Genghis went back on the offensive.

Genghis took a bigger force into Hsi-Hsia in 1209. Battles with the troops of Hsi-Hsia were won by the Mongols. The Hsi-Hsia troops fell back to their fortified capital, Ningshia. Ningshia was a large town on the Yellow River near where it makes a northward turn to form the Ordos Loop. Again the Mongols could make no dent in the walls. Genghis had learned that Chinese military engineers diverted rivers to deprive the besieged city of its water. He tried to do this now, using Tangut prisoners as slaves to build a dam. The Mongols had no engineers capable of supervising such a task. The dam failed, flooding the vicinity of Ningshia. The Mongols retreated to higher ground, and continued ravaging the countryside. Soon thereafter, the defenders of Ningshia lost heart and surrendered. Genghis imposed harsh terms, which included tribute, white camels, falcons, troops for the Mongol army, and a king's daughter for Genghis. Genghis had secured his flank against the Kin, secured booty for his troops, and learned valuable lessons on fighting a sedentary power. He withdrew to Mongolia in early 1210 to prepare for battle with the Kin.

The Kin state was a much larger entity than any Genghis had yet engaged. Its borders were similar to modern China on the north, including Manchuria, ending at the northern loop of the Yellow River, which was the western border. Its southern border was midway between the Yellow and Yangtze rivers, and was continually contested with the Sung. Most of the population was Chinese. This area had

been taken from the Sung by the Khitans in the 10th century. Then the Sung enlisted the Jurchets to oust the Khitans, which was accomplished in the early 12th century. So this state had three populations mutually disdainful of each other. The Jurchets ruled, and tried to extract as much money as it could from the Khitans and Chinese. The Khitans served in subordinate posts, resenting their conquerors. The Chinese were the source of wealth, taxed heavily, and trying to ignore rulers whom they felt were a temporary aberration. Nature played a role in the status of this state. In 1194, the Yellow River burst its banks and took a new route between Kaifeng and the sea. The devastation caused by this event was ignored by the rulers, who continued to collect heavy taxes on the population. The population of this state was at least 10 times the population of the Mongols, and their army was much larger than the Mongols. The Kin were aware of Mongol intentions, and strengthened their defenses.

After a year of rest and training in their homeland, Genghis led the Mongol army into the Kin state. For two years the Mongols raided and devastated what is now Hopeh and Shansi provinces. Kin reaction was not coordinated, so the Mongols could deal with separate forces individually. The terrain in these provinces suited cavalry operations, and the Mongols won several battles. Afterwards, the Kin forces would retreat to a fortified city or border post, and the Mongols would leave them there. Genghis had stirred up the Khitans in Manchuria to revolt in 1212, causing further dilution of Kin forces. The Kin were now dealing with Genghis' invasion in the north central part of their realm, Khitan revolt in the far north, and guarding against the Sung in the south. The Mongols had been stymied by static defenses, such as the portions of the Great Wall near Beijing. In the summer of 1213, a Khitan captain in charge of a fortress north of Beijing turned the fortress over to the Mongols. Genghis sent a force under Jebei to attack the Wall at the Nan-kou Pass north of Beijing. Jebei attacked, and then retreated in disorder as if the fortress was too strong. The Kin forces believed what they saw, and left their fortress to mop up. The retreat was a feint, a favorite tactic of the Mongols. Jebei reformed his units, sent a messenger to Genghis who was nearby, and fell on the Kin. Enough of the Kin forces were destroyed to allow the Mongols to take the fortress in the Pass, and march through the Wall to the plains just north of Beijing.

The Kin thought the defenses of Beijing were impregnable. The Mongols ravaged the heartland of the Kin empire. Genghis divided his army into three columns to cover as much of this territory as possible. A small force remained in front of Beijing to keep an eye on the Kin. The emperor Wei-shao was assassinated, and another member of the

royal house was installed. Power now rested with General Hu Cha Hu. Hu led a force out from Beijing and defeated the small covering force of Mongols. This success motivated another general, Kao-chi, to arrest and execute Hu. Kao-chi's orders to all troops and people in the empire were to concentrate in fortified towns and fortresses. The Mongols were now passing through one of the longest settled civilized areas on earth, which was not part of their experience. They burned and looted small villages and rural areas. When confronted by fortified towns or fortresses, the Mongols gathered prisoners and pushed them to fight in front of Mongol forces. If the prisoners refused, all were executed. This tactic worked against smaller towns and fortresses, but not against larger ones. The Mongols spread over the whole empire from the northern turn of the Yellow River to the Shantung coast. They stayed north of the Yellow River, and looted as much as they could from this area.

In April 1214, Genghis combined his army on the plain north of Beijing. His troopers were full of confidence, and felt they could take the city. Genghis did not agree, but decided to give them opportunities. Two attacks failed, and Genghis asserted control again. He opened negotiations with the Kin leader. By May terms were agreed. Genghis was to receive large quantities of silk and gold, 500 boys and girls, 3,000 horses, and a daughter of the emperor as a wife. The Mongols had ravaged north China from the northern loop of the Yellow River to the Amur River in northern Manchuria. Other steppe peoples such as the Huns and Turks had attempted this before, but none as successfully as the Mongols. But as soon as the Mongols withdrew to Mongolia with their spoils, Genghis learned that the Kin monarch had fled Beijing to Kaifeng. This was an indication of China's ability to absorb punishment and use its vast resources to keep resisting. Genghis was not interested in further conquest in China at this time, so his only response was to send two toumans (20,000 men) under Mukali to keep an eye on the Kin. Genghis kept his main force in Mongolia, and prepared to turn his attention west.

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6

1214/15—The Battle of Bouvines and the Magna Carta

On the western periphery of Eurasia, the conflict between the Capetian kingdom of France and the Angevin empire based in England continued. After the death of Richard the Lion-Hearted, these states were led by Phillip II of France and John I of England. Phillip had been overshadowed by Richard the Lion-Hearted during the Third Crusade. After Phillip returned to France, he kept steady military and political pressure on the Angevin possessions on the continent. While Richard was alive, Richard was able to retain these possessions. John was able to retain these possessions as long as his mother was alive. But after Eleanor's death, Phillip's pressure and John's military incapacity led to changes in what is now northern France.

Soon after the death of Eleanor, Phillip was able to take the fortress of Chateau Galliard by siege. The Anglo-Norman barons, who had properties in both Normandy and England, were not supporting John in his defense of Normandy, Anjou and Poitou. This lack of support, combined with John's lack of military talent, allowed Phillip to take over these three provinces by the end of 1204. John did not accept this loss, but was unable to take any action immediately to take them back. Angevin holdings on the continent were now confined to Eleanor's realm of Aquitaine.

John and Phillip were first allied, as part of the long-term Capetian strategy of setting Angevin relatives against each other. Phillip's father first backed rebellions led by Eleanor and various sons against Henry II. Phillip backed Richard against Henry II just before Henry's death. After Phillip's return from the Crusade, he backed John against Richard. John was an irritant to his brother, stirring up resistance to Richard's taxes and general treatment of England as a source of money for Richard's wars. After John's ascension to the throne, Phillip and John were enemies for the remainder of John's life.

By 1204, John had a reputation for being unlucky. John's next major battle was not with Phillip. In 1205, the Archbishop of Canterbury died. Even though the technical right to name the new Archbishop lay

with the monks of the Cathedral in Canterbury, it had been accepted since William the Conqueror that the king would have input into the choice. The monks nominated one of their own, Reginald, without John's approval. Reginald travelled to Rome to get the Pope's confirmation, letting everyone know of his new office. In the meantime, John named the Bishop of Norwich. When these choices came to the attention of Pope Innocent III, he rejected both. Innocent required that the monks elect Cardinal Stephen Langton, an Englishman living in Rome, and then invested Langton as Archbishop. John refused to let Langton into the country. Both sides had precedent on their side, which created a stalemate. Innocent took the decisive action of putting England under an interdict. John was not religious, but the vast majority of the English population was. The only religious rites that were permitted in England under interdict were baptism and the sacrament of the dying.

John's reaction was to seize the property of wealthy monasteries, abbeys, and bishoprics. In 1209, Innocent took the next step and excommunicated John. John then seized the property of the two archbishops in England. The income from these seizures allowed John to raise an army in England and establish his overlordship over the Scots, Welsh and Irish.

Innocent and Otto IV of the Holy Roman Empire were having a similar dispute at the same time. Otto was a nephew of John, an enemy of Innocent and an enemy of Phillip II. Otto and John were both declared deposed by Innocent in 1212. Innocent allied with Phillip, and asked Phillip to enforce John's deposition by invading England. John and Otto allied to oppose this invasion. But John felt his position was too weak to rely on continental help. John was unpopular with the common people on the religious question, and the barons were unhappy with the loss of their continental possessions and John's heavy taxes. John opened negotiations with Innocent, saying he would accept Stephen Langton as Archbishop of Canterbury. Innocent asked for more indications of submission, such as return of all expelled priests, and acceptance of the crown of England as a papal vassal, and money tribute to Rome for this privilege. John agreed to all this, and Stephen was installed in July 1213. The interdict and John's excommunication were both lifted at this time.

Phillip had been through disputes with Pope Innocent as well. Phillip's second marriage to Ingeborg of Denmark in 1193 had been a disaster, and he separated from her after one night. Phillip obtained an annulment from French bishops, and took a new wife in 1196. The Danes complained to Pope Celestine, who countermanded the

annulment. No further action was taken before Celestine's death in 1198. In January 1200, Pope Innocent laid an interdict on France. Phillip put aside his new wife and accepted reconciliation with Ingeborg in September 1200, even though he refused to cohabit with her and kept her under house arrest until 1213. After September 1200, Phillip was an ally of Pope Innocent.

During this time, Phillip II had been consolidating his control of the Angevin lands he had taken over in 1204. There were various rebellions in 1206 and 1208, but Phillip was able to put those down. The acquisition of these provinces greatly increased the territory directly controlled by the king of France, and Phillip used the clergy to help him control the new territory. He kept the nobility under control by enlisting their help in maintaining these territories. A new class of administrative officers was appointed by the king to administer justice and collect taxes, taking these powers away from the nobles. Phillip had been trying to secure territory north of Paris since his return from Crusade. The nobles there resisted him, and allied with John and Otto.

Innocent had declared a crusade against heretics in what is now southern France in 1209. Phillip would not take part in this crusade, but allowed nobles such as his son Louis and Simon of Montfort (seen before on the 4th Crusade) to take part. Before Phillip's death in 1223, large parts of what is now southeastern France had been subdued. Phillip did not annex these territories, but the path had been cleared for that action.

John had been watching all these actions on the continent with an eye to regaining his old territories of Normandy, Brittany, Anjou and Poitou. As stated above, he allied with his nephew, Holy Roman Emperor Otto IV in 1213. Otto enlisted the counts of Flanders and Boulogne, who had their own disputes with Phillip. Otto and the Counts were to invade northern France, and John was to return to his old province of Anjou. This plan went into effect in early 1214.

John's force landed at La Rochelle in Aquitaine in February 1214. This force advanced into the province of Anjou, aided by some Poitevin barons who were still supporting John. Phillip sent his son and heir Louis to deal with this threat. Louis defeated John's force at La Roche-aux-Moines on July 2, 1214. John's force retreated to the coast and returned to England on receiving the news of the Battle of Bouvines.

Phillip had remained in northern France keeping his eye on the larger threat. The armies of Otto, the count of Flanders and the count of

Boulogne had gathered in what is now northern Belgium. This force advanced south, and Phillip went north to meet them. The two armies met at Bouvines on July 27, 1214. Bouvines is located on the road between Lille and Tournai, and was then part of the domain of the count of Flanders. Phillip had an army of about 15,000, and maneuvered to bring on battle on ground of his choosing. Otto's army contained about 25,000, but included less cavalry than the French. This battle was mainly fought by heavy cavalry. Unlike the Mongols, European cavalry was heavily armored, and used lances, swords, and other weapons to fight at close range. Infantry had a hard time standing up to heavy cavalry charges, even the Flemish infantry in the allied forces, considered the best in Europe. The expense of heavy cavalry in Europe during this century made European forces small by comparison to Asian forces. There was a great reliance on castles and other fortification as well. As a result, there were very few decisive battles between two European armies during this century.

Each army consisted of three sections. The French had chosen the ground, and the allied army arrived piecemeal in three sections. On the French right, the French cavalry prevailed after a confused fight, recorded in the chronicles in the form of individual feats of knightly gallantry. On the French left, another cavalry fight was won by the French, led by Phillip, the bishop of Beauvais. In the fighting, Phillip unhorsed and captured the Earl of Salisbury, leader of the small English force sent by John to aid the allied army. The main battle took place in the center, between cavalry led by Phillip II and a combined force of infantry and cavalry led by Otto. The struggle went back and forth, with Phillip II being unhorsed at one point. Eventually the French prevailed, securing the imperial standard and almost capturing Otto himself.

Bouvines was a decisive battle in the European history of this century. The consequences for John of England will be detailed below. Otto IV was soon displaced by his rival Frederick of Sicily as Emperor. For Phillip II, he was now firmly established in a France much increased in size from the kingdom he inherited in 1180. Phillip II was not particularly popular with his subjects during his lifetime. But he had established a much stronger central government in France, and more than doubled the size of his kingdom. Eventually, Phillip II became known as Phillip Augustus, in recognition of his vital role in the expansion of French power.

While John I of England was on the continent in 1214, the barons of England united in their opposition to him. While many of the barons had long opposed John's fiscal extractions and usurpation of their

traditional rights, they lacked an inspiring leader to state their case. This leader was now found in the new Archbishop of Canterbury, Stephen Langton. Stephen suggested that the barons require John to issue a new charter of the laws of England. The Angevin rulers of England had installed a superb administrative system in England, but these kings ruled as despots. The barons were attempting to put a stop to this, and protect their own interests. After John refused their demand for a new charter, the barons mustered for war, with Langton's active support.

Two thousand nobles, mostly from northern England, gathered with many other followers at Stamford in Lincolnshire in early 1215. As John's army had been reduced by the expedition that resulted in the defeat of La Roche-aux-Moines the prior year, this force was the strongest military entity in England. The nobles took London in May 1215. John knew he would have to give in to the noble's demands if he wanted to continue as king. After negotiations between the King and the barons, an agreement was reached. On June 15, 1215, John put his seal on the documents on the island of Runnymede in the Thames. This document was signed by 25 barons, and witnessed by 13 bishops and 20 abbots. The document has become known as the Magna Carta, or Great Charter.

The Magna Carta had two different effects. In the very short term, it was a failure. John claimed soon after June 15 that he had been coerced, and denounced the final clause (clause 61). This clause allowed a committee of 25 barons to meet at any time and overrule the will of the King if he broke the agreement laid out in the Charter, and seize his castles or possessions if necessary. After John's renunciation of the agreement, the barons resumed their military rebellion. The barons invited Louis, the son of Phillip II of France, to come and claim the English crown. Louis came to England, and established a precarious presence there. What changed the situation was John's death in October 1216. The barons withdrew their support of Louis and acknowledged John's nine-year-old son and heir, Henry. After negotiation, Louis peacefully returned to France with his small cadre of supporters. A regency council was established to rule for Henry. The head of the council, William Marshal, issued a revised Charter on November 12, 1216. King Henry III confirmed the Charter by issuing another revised Charter when he came of age in 1225. Hence, in the short term the agreement underwent some revision before it was finalized in the statutes of England.

Long term, the Magna Carta achieved legendary constitutional status. This is a bit of a surprise as the original document is in every way a

document of its time. Clauses had to do with many varied subjects. Two (clause 10 and 11) limited the rights of Jews in England, and regulated usury. Several dealt with taxes and debts that had arisen from various royal assessments against the barons. One clause (clause 50) stated that no members of the d'Athee family could become royal officers. Clause 51 required all foreign knights and mercenaries leave the realm, which the barons themselves reversed the next year when they invited Louis of France to England. Clause 27 dealt with intestacy, which had been a major complaint due to John's confiscating the estates of nobles who died intestate (without a will). One clause (clause 45) was cited in a ruling by the Supreme Court of California in 1974 as a requirement under the common law that the trial of a person facing incarceration be conducted by a legally trained judge, even though this clause is not part of the laws of England, much less the United States.

The three clauses that are still on the statute book in the United Kingdom are cited below, in a modern translation. These clauses are:

> [Clause I] First, We have granted to God, and by this present Charter confirmed, for Us and our heirs forever, that the Church of England shall be free, and shall have her whole Rights and Liberties inviolable. We have granted also, and given to all the Freeman of our Realm, for Us and our Heirs forever, these Liberties under-written, to have and to hold for them and their heirs, of Us and our Heirs forever. [Clause IX] The City of London shall have all the old Liberties and Customs which it hath been used to have. Moreover we will and grant, that all other Cities, Boroughs, Towns, and the Barons of the Five Ports (Hastings, Romney, Hythe, Dover and Sandwich), as with all other Ports, shall have all their Liberties and free Customs. [Clause XXIX] No Freeman shall be taken or imprisoned, or be deprived of his Freehold, or Liberties, or free Customs, or be outlawed, be exiled, or any other wise destroyed, nor will We pass upon him, nor condemn him, but by lawful judgment of his Peers, or by the Law of the Land. We will sell to no man, we will not deny or defer to any man either Justice or Right. [Wikipedia, "Magna Carta].

In particular, the last clause is considered the foundation of the right to a jury trial, and has passed into the law of all countries whose law is founded on English law.

The main result of the Magna Carta was to limit the powers of the King of England. The Magna Carta did not end this dispute, but showed the way for future conflicts to be resolved by legal agreement.

There were many more disputes in England and other countries that resulted in legal agreements such as the Magna Carta. In England, there is no specific written constitution, but the three still valid clauses of the Magna Carta are part of what is called the unwritten constitution of the United Kingdom. The Magna Carta is considered the forerunner of modern constitutions, which was certainly not the intention of the rebellious barons and bishops who confronted King John at Runnymede. They were protecting their own interests.

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7

1219—The 5th Crusade and Francis of Assisi in Egypt

The last major initiative of Pope Innocent's life was to initiate another Crusade. After a canon by the 4th Lateran council authorizing the Crusade was issued, Innocent started to raise funds and troops in early 1216. Three days after Innocent's death, a new pope was elected. Pope Honorius III had been the treasurer of the Holy See prior to election. He had participated in making the plans for this crusade, and proceeded down the same road. Preachers were authorized to recruit, and clerical incomes were levied to raise funds. The main source of crusaders in the past had been France. Now most of the devout nobles of France were involved in the Albigensian crusade in southern France, and would not go east. Recruitment was more successful in Germany. A force gathered in Frisia (now in the Netherlands) in 1217, and was transported by sea to Italy. This force arrived too late in the winter of 1217 to continue their voyage to the Holy Land, spending the winter in Italy.

The most successful field for Crusade recruitment was Hungary. King Andrew II of Hungary, accompanied by Duke Leopold IV of Austria, led an army of over 30,000 to Spalato (now Split, Croatia). This army was transported by a Venetian fleet to Cyprus in August 1217. The contract for transport was handled by the Church and King Andrew, so there were no problems with payment as in the 4th Crusade. This force made its way to Acre in Palestine. The Muslim garrison in Palestine destroyed the walls and fortifications of Jerusalem, and many Muslims fled the city fearing another massacre like 1099. The Muslim and Christian armies met in a battle at Bathsaida near the Jordan River on November 10, with the Christians prevailing. The Muslim force retreated to fortifications in what is now Lebanon. The Christians did not have siege equipment, and could not capture these fortifications. King Andrew started to lose interest in fighting, spending his time collecting religious relics. During a winter of disease and poor supplies, Andrew decided to return to Hungary with his army in February 1218.

The remnants of this force met up with reinforcements in May 1218 in Palestine. The leaders of the crusade felt that the best way to secure

Jerusalem was to defeat the ruler of Palestine, who was based in Egypt. This was a continuation of the policy of the 4th Crusade, and had been recommended by the nobility of the Latin States as well. This army, now mostly Dutch, Flemish and Frisian, landed in Egypt in June 1218. They headed toward Damietta, on the easternmost branch of the Nile in the Delta. The Egyptian sultan, al-Adil (brother of Saladin), sent an army under his son and vizier, al-Kamil, to hold Damietta. The Crusaders took a fort near Damietta, but could not enter the town. Al-Adil died on August 31, 1218, and al-Kamil returned to Cairo to secure his succession. In September, a legate (representative) of Pope Honorius arrived, Cardinal Pelagius. The Crusader army had been operating under a council of the leaders of the various forces, led by John of Brienne, the titular King of Jerusalem. Pelagius would not accept John as leader, stating that the Crusaders were under the jurisdiction of the Church per the rulings of the 4th Lateran Council. Pelagius joined the council, and through force of personality made himself the dominant voice on the council. Al-Kamil had withdrawn for a short time in February 1219 to deal with rebellious generals in Cairo. The Christians attacked during this time, and took the Egyptian camp outside Damietta. Now the Christians were up to the walls of Damietta. Both armies had suffered from the winter climate, and from outbreaks of disease. The time was ripe for negotiations.

Al-Kamil sent an embassy to the Christian camp in late February 1219. His hold on power in Cairo was tenuous, so he offered generous terms to the Christians. Al-Kamil offered to restore the old (pre–1187) Kingdom of Jerusalem, minus two castles, and sign a thirty-year truce in exchange for the Crusaders leaving Egypt. He knew that the destruction of the walls and fortifications of Jerusalem made the place indefensible. The Christian camp was divided on this offer. John of Brienne and the barons of the Latin states wanted to accept the offer as it was, backed by the few French nobles participating in the Crusade. Cardinal Pelagius, backed by the Templars, Hospitallers, and German leaders, wished to reject the offer. Cardinal Pelagius invoked his legatine authority to reject the offer. Al-Kamil came back with another offer, sweetening the pot with cash to pay for the two castles he would keep. This persuaded the Templars and Hospitallers, but Pelagius remained defiant, and turned down the offer. By March, al-Kamil received reinforcements from Syria, and withdrew his peace offer. The war resumed, and the stage was set for a dramatic encounter between al-Kamil and a Christian not yet in Egypt.

The story of the Crusades and the maneuverings of various Popes is one facet of the Catholic Church during this century. Another facet is

personified by individuals who tried to take the words of Christ literally and live their life that way. An example was a young man in Assisi.

Francis di Bernardone was born in Assisi in 1181. His father was a cloth merchant, a member of the rising middle class in northern Italy. Francis learned to read and write Latin at a church school in Assisi. He learned French, to read and sing the courtly love poetry of the troubadours. Francis displayed no religious leanings as a youth. He was part of a group of young middle-class men who spent a lot of time partying in Assisi. Francis was named their "master of the revels." By the time he turned twenty, he fought in a conflict between Assisi and Perugia. Francis was captured and spent a year as a prisoner of war in Perugia, contracting malaria while there. After his release, Francis assembled a knightly array of clothing and set out to join papal forces in Apulia. Before he joined, he had a vision that told him to return to Assisi.

Francis now had several experiences that persuaded him to change his life. He saw a vision of Christ while praying in a grotto near Assisi. He made a pilgrimage to Rome, where he mingled with beggars before old St. Peters Church and begged himself. He gave alms to a leper and kissed the leper's hand. His final conversion came when he was running an errand for his father in Assisi during the summer of 1205. On this hot day, Francis took refuge in the chapel of San Damiano. This chapel was neglected, and in poor repair. Above the altar was a crucifix painted on linen. According to Francis' later testimony, the crucifix spoke to him, saying "Go, Francis, and repair my house which, as you see, is well-nigh in ruins." Francis felt a charge going through him, which he could never afterwards explain. He found a new love. This love was for Christ, and ruled the rest of Francis' life.

Francis took the instruction literally. He went to his home, took as much material as he could carry from his father's shop, rode to the town of Foligno and sold the material. He tried to give the proceeds to the priest of San Damiano, who notified Francis' father. Pietro confined Francis to their home, and eventually called Francis to account before the bishop of Assisi, who held court in the square in front of the cathedral in Assisi. Francis appeared before the bishop in the finest clothes he could get from Pietro's shop. Pietro complained to the archbishop that his son was a thief and that he was due compensation. Before the archbishop could rule, Francis agreed to reimburse his father. Francis went into the cathedral and emerged naked with the clothes neatly bundled up and a purse of coins on top of them. Francis is quoted as saying "Listen to me, all of you, and

understand. Till now, I have called Pietro di Bernardone my father. But because I have proposed to serve God, I return to him the money on account of which he was so upset, and also the clothing that is his, and I wish from now on to say only 'Our Father, who art in Heaven' and not 'my father, Pietro di Bernardone'" (Cahill, p. 163). After his father left with his possessions, the bishop covered the naked man with his cloak. This is the first instance in Francis' new life of his mastery of symbolism. This scene was painted by Giotto later in the century.

Francis now set out on his spiritual journey. He started to preach, even though he was a layman. Francis was careful to get approval from the bishop of Assisi. By the time he had twelve (not an accidental number) disciples, he and the disciples went to Rome to secure papal approval. This was in 1209, and Innocent III gave his verbal approval on April 16, which is still cited as the founding date of the Franciscan order. Franciscans were not priests but friars. The main thrust in early days was the vow of poverty, which Francis felt should be absolute. As the order grew, the need for organization grew as well. Francis knew he had no talent for organization, and delegated this to early disciples, like Elias of Cortona. The order started to acquire property to house its growing numbers in Italy, and expanded its operations to other countries. In 1212, Francis founded an order for women, the Poor Clares, named after a noble female follower, Clare of Assisi. The friars were supposed to be itinerant preachers, not normally housed in monasteries. Social norms of the time did not allow women to live that way, so the Poor Clares became nuns, confined to cloister in abbeys paid for with the money coming to the order as contributions.

Francis felt that to literally live his vows, he must go forth to live the gospel and preach to all, and condemn no one. He had been doing this around Italy since 1205. In 1212, he tried to go to the Holy Land, but his ship wrecked on the Adriatic coast and he returned to Italy. In 1214, he tried to go to Spain, but a recurrence of his malaria thwarted that desire. In 1217 Francis set out to go to southern France, where the Albigensian Crusade was in process. He was dissuaded from this trip by Cardinal Ugo, one of his supporters in the papal Curia. Ugo (who later became Pope Gregory IX) told Francis that he had unfinished business in Italy. Some thought that Francis had a desire to become a martyr. He confirmed their suspicions with his next action.

While the Crusaders were besieging Damietta, Francis made his way to their camp in the summer of 1219. He came as a healer, not the warrior he had been earlier in his life. On arrival, he submitted a

request to Cardinal Pelagius to allow him to visit the leader of the Muslim army. Francis wished to try and convert al-Kamil and end the conflict. There are two contemporary sources for this encounter on the Christian side, and none on the Muslim side. The bishop of Acre, who was with the Christian forces, mentioned the visit in a letter home in late 1219 in a perfunctory manner. Three years later, when Francis' reputation for saintliness had grown, he wrote a more complimentary account. An anonymous chronicler, who was probably a layman in the entourage of King John of Jerusalem, left an account as well. There is no eyewitness record of what happened at the meeting.

Francis secured the unenthusiastic permission of Cardinal Pelagius to visit the enemy camp sometime in September 1219. Francis, accompanied by another friar, walked to the Muslim guards and asked to meet the sultan. The guards turned these unarmed men over to superior officers, who eventually allowed them to meet al-Kamil. The various accounts of this meeting stress its civility. Al-Kamil allowed Francis to try to convert him to Christianity. Al-Kamil was impressed by Francis, and allowed Francis to stay for a week of conversation. Francis was impressed by the religious practices of the Muslims, such as the five times daily call to prayer. Later accounts of the encounter state that Francis was beaten by Muslims, but there is no indication that he was mistreated. Al-Kamil offered Francis gifts if he would convert to Islam, which Francis turned down. Francis was then allowed to return to the Crusader army, feeling that he had failed.

Francis was called back to Europe by the news that there were severe disagreements in his growing order. He was drawn back into the affairs of his order, never again making contact with an enemy to try his hand at peacemaking. The campaign continued, taking Damietta on November 5, 1219. We will see more of Francis, and of this Crusade, later.

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8

1220—Kanem, Mali and Trade Across the Sahara

Today the Sahara Desert seems to be a vast barrier between North Africa and the regions just south of the desert. Before ocean travel from the Mediterranean to south of the Sahara was established in the 15th century, contact between these two regions was conducted over the Saharan “sea.” The region just south of the Sahara stretching across Africa is called the Sahel. This environment of savanna and grassland was named using the Arabic word sahil, meaning port. Throughout this swath of Africa, there are towns that serve as ports on the Saharan sea, trading with towns in North Africa.

In the western Sahel, there were no written records until the 10th century, when Arab traders started running camel caravans across the desert. The peoples in the western Sahel were not literate, and written accounts of them come to us through Arab sources. This is a relatively dry climate, so there are some archaeological records of these peoples as well. In 1220, there was one large state based on Lake Chad, and another empire in its embryonic stage near the Niger River.

The Kanem state took shape just northwest of Lake Chad starting around 700. The state was ruled by kings titled Mai who were considered divine. The ruling dynasty was known as Duguwa, based on the name of the third ruler, called Duku. The rulers and the people practiced their native religion, and the subjects never laid eyes on the king, only hearing him through a curtain. The ruler was converted to Islam in 1068. The rulers became known as the Sayfawa dynasty, and ruled until 1380. After conversion, the treatment of the ruler was more in line with Muslim practice, as Muslims would not treat any ruler as divine. This state’s capital was Njimi, just north of Lake Chad. The area around Lake Chad was the heart of the state, the most productive area ruled by Kanem. The lake provided fish, cattle and other livestock could graze in the surrounding grasslands, and crops could be grown near the lake in the dry climate. This state started expanding in the late 12th century.

By 1220, Kanem had reached its peak size. The expansionist ruler was Mai Dunama Dabbalemi. Dabbalemi was a fervent Muslim. He exchanged embassies with sultans in North Africa. He established a

special hostel in Cairo to help any of his subjects on their pilgrimage to Mecca. Before 1220, Dabbalemi ordered the destruction of the mune, a mysterious object believed to possess unknown powers that had been preserved since the time of the divine kings. This was done to destroy an important symbol of pre–Muslim beliefs and contrast Dabbalemi with his predecessors, whom he felt were lax Muslims.

During his reign, Dabbalemi expanded his domain in all directions. North, he took the Fezzan area in what is now southern Libya. Eastward the realm now extended to include all of what is now Chad, to the current border with Sudan. Expansion south took over the Adamawa region in what is now northern Cameroon, a region that has a wetter climate and allowed more livestock and agricultural production. Western expansion went along the River Yo, and took over the state of Bornu. Later in the history of Kanem, the empire was known as Kanem-Bornu. Dabbalemi devised a system to reward his military commanders with authority over the people they conquered. Most of the regions conquered became independent later, or were swallowed up by neighboring states. In 1220, all these regions remained in the Kanem state.

Dabbalemi considered himself and his kingdom part of the Islamic community. Kanem was separated from the nearest Muslim states by the Sahara. Contacts with these states were religious and commercial. The religious contacts were through pilgrimages and sending some youth to Egypt for religious training. For commercial contacts, Kanem needed products to trade. One significant export was a product of the wars discussed above. Slaves were always in demand in North Africa. Muslim law forbade enslaving fellow Muslims. As most of the peoples conquered by Dabbelemi were pagans, these prisoners could legally be enslaved. Other products sent north were fabrics, salt and minerals. These products were welcomed in North Africa, but were not the most popular trade goods from the Sahel. To see where the most in demand trade goods came from, we need to move a little west of Kanem.

South of the Sahara and west of the drainage of Lake Chad, the Sahel extends to the Atlantic coast. The largest river that runs through this area is the Niger. The Niger originates within 150 miles of the Atlantic, but flows northwest away from the nearby ocean. It flows in a boomerang shape, entering the Gulf of Guinea in what is now Nigeria. This is because the current Niger is two ancient rivers combined. The upper Niger used to flow into a large lake near the present site of Timbuktu. The lower Niger rose in the hills near that lake, and flowed to the Gulf of Guinea. It is thought that the lake dried up in the general desiccation of the Sahara around 5000 bce.

The two rivers somehow combined, giving the Niger its present shape. One result of this history is a very important geographical feature, the Inner Niger Delta, where the Niger used to flow into the lake. This delta is on the northernmost point in the course of the river, and in the driest landscape. The spreading out of the river creates a large, easily irrigated, fertile area in a very dry environment.

There are Arab accounts of a state in this area. The state was called Ghana. Ancient Ghana was not in the modern state of Ghana, but north of modern Ghana in the upper Niger region. This state arose in the late 800s, in the area between the upper Niger and upper Senegal rivers. The state eventually grew to encompass much of what is now western Mali and southwestern Mauretania. This state eventually was taken over by various neighbors, and extinguished in the early 1200s.

The Arab sources originally told a story of an empire of black Africans that was wealthy and settled. Later Arab sources said that the rulers were Berbers from the Sahara who had emigrated south. Others said that the rulers were descendants of Muhammad. The consensus now is that the empire was ruled by Soninke or Mande peoples, tribes that were native to the region. The capital of the state was Koumbi Saleh, which was constructed in the area between the Niger and the Senegal rivers, but within a short journey to the Inner Niger Delta. During the time Ghana was a strong state, there was a twin town to Koumbi Saleh, constructed six miles away, that was inhabited by Muslim merchants and traders. The Arab sources state that Ghana was conquered by the Almoravid rulers of Morocco. That story is not currently believed, as the archaeological record indicates a trade relationship between Ghana and the Almoravids. An example of this was found at Koumbi Saleh. Several headstones in a cemetery for members of the Ghanan elite were excavated, and determined to have been manufactured in Spain in the early 1100s.

Ghana was taken over by the Sosso peoples who moved in during the late 1100s from just east of the Ghanan state. The Sosso ruled this area for a short time. The originator of the next large state in this area, Mali, was gathering his forces in 1220. The name of this person was Sundiata. He was born in the early 1200s, and as he founded a large empire in a culture with oral records, our evidence of his rise is from the tale of his rise, which cannot be verified. Sundiata could not walk until he was seven, and afterward worked assiduously to strengthen himself. By the age of 18, he was asked to lead an army against the Sosso rulers. This army was victorious against the Sosso at Krina in approximately 1235. Sundiata was now the founder of a new empire that was known to Arab traders as Mali. This empire

eventually stretched from east of the Inner Niger Delta to the Atlantic. All the dates in the story of Sundiata are approximate. His new state became an enthusiastic partner with Arabs from North Africa in trade across the Sahara.

The trade across the Sahara originated in Roman times. Then the animals carrying the products were donkeys. Donkeys could not carry very much, and could not survive long trips across the Sahara. Hence the trade was short distance, Roman caravans traveling to oases in the Sahara, and trading with peoples from further south who brought goods desired by the Romans, such as ivory and slaves. The factor missing in this trade was an animal that could travel long distances in the desert. The arrival of camels from Arabia with the Arab conquerors in the seventh century solved this problem. The practice of this caravan trade across the Sahara was very dangerous. Evidence of this danger was found in southern Libya in the late 1960s. An entire caravan was dug out of the sand, all the camels, men and goods fully preserved. It could not be determined if a sandstorm had buried them while moving, or if the caravan had taken shelter in an area they thought was safe and was then buried by the sandstorm.

The reason these caravans were instituted and continued was the prospect of immense profit. The earliest record of an Arab caravan heading from what is now northern Libya to the Fezzan is 663, soon after Arab conquest of this area. That route was extended south, eventually reaching the kingdom of Kanem. By 1220, Kanem was able to supply North Africa with the products listed above, mostly slaves. Slaves had a value to the Arab traders that justified the long trip and large expense of a caravan across the Sahara. Records of another caravan to Kenam in the 12th century show its cargo as cowry shells (used as currency in Kanem) and a metric ton of copper and brass. The route from what is now Tunisia and Libya to the Kanem Empire was well established.

The other route from North Africa to the Sahel was in the west. By 1220 there were additional participants in this trade. In the Almohad Empire in Morocco, Italian merchants secured permission to settle and establish factories (trading posts) in port cities on the Mediterranean. Now there was more demand on the North African end of this trade route. The traders on the southern end of this route, in what is now Mali, had plenty of goods that their northern partners wanted. These caravans ended at several towns at the southern edge of the Sahara, of which Timbuktu was the most famous. The Malian merchants, mostly Muslim, could get goods from forest areas south and east of the Mali state. These goods included kola nuts, which contained a stimulant

acceptable to Muslims, ivory from elephants or hippopotamus, ebony, and other products. The North African merchants supplied goods from Europe and North Africa, such as brass, copper, cowry shells, textiles and other products. There were two other products that were the main drivers of this trade. The largest source of gold for North Africa and Europe was Mali. Gold mines existed in areas just south and east of the Mali state. First Ghana, then Mali controlled this trade. The Sahelian states valued gold, but not to the extent the Arab and European cultures valued it. Gold was a great product for a long-distance trade like this, as it was not too bulky and had a high value. On the southward leg, Arab merchants usually made stops at a couple of known sources of salt in the Sahara. Salt was highly valued in the Sahel, as there were no native sources of salt. Ghana, then Mali had to get salt either from the coast, or from sources in the Sahara.

The coinage of North Africa and Europe showed the effect of this trade by 1220. Gold coins were issued in Morocco in the 12th century. Some of the Christian states of Iberia issued gold coins before 1220. Gold started to circulate in Europe. Various Italian states issued gold coins after 1220, by which time the African source of gold had been regularized. In the Kingdom of Sicily, Frederick II issued his augustale, a gold coin, in 1235. Florence issued the gold florin starting in 1252. Until the supply of gold radically increased in the early 1500s, the main source of gold for European and North African states was the Sahel.

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9

1221/3—Mongols in Central Asia, Afghanistan, Iran and Southeastern Europe

Genghis Khan had withdrawn to his homeland after his campaign against China in 1214. After learning that the Kin emperor left Beijing and moved to Kaifeng, Genghis sent one of his leading commanders, Mukali, along with two Mongol toumans to keep the pressure on. Mukali recruited many auxiliary troops from disaffected Jurchets, Khitans, and Chinese. In early 1215, Mukali besieged Beijing again. This time morale in the city was low, and food supplies were rapidly diminishing. In May 1215, the town surrendered to the Mongols. The city was gutted and thoroughly looted. The treatment of the population was such that many noble young women leaped to their deaths from the walls of Beijing, rather than submit to the occupying army. The Mongols spared craftsmen and others who they felt would be useful.

One person who was saved became very important to Mongol rule. This prisoner was Yeliu Ch'u ts'ai, an educated member of the Khitan royal family who had chosen to serve the Kin. He was twenty-five and a responsible official. Yeliu was brought before Genghis Khan, who pointed out that the Mongols had avenged the Khitans, and that Yeliu should be grateful. Yeliu said that he had accepted the Kin as his masters, and their misfortune was his misfortune. The quality Genghis most valued was loyalty, and he was impressed by the answer and by the person. Yeliu became chief astrologer to Genghis, and steadily rose in the ranks of Mongol service. Yeliu's ancestors were similar to the Mongols, nomadic conquerors of a sedentary society. Yeliu had seen how an old, established society like China was governed. Yeliu tried to soften the brutality the Mongols brought to their conquests. He stated "The Mongol Empire has been conquered from the saddle. But it cannot be ruled from the saddle." (Legg, p. 256). Yeliu urged that the resources of conquered countries be taxed, not plundered. He remained Genghis' leading civilian advisor until Genghis' death, continuing to serve the succeeding ruler. Any restraint the Mongols showed was due to this man.

Genghis never returned to China. He felt that the Turks, fellow steppe

conquerors, were a greater threat. China could not be ignored, so Genghis left Mukali in charge, with the task of keeping the Kin south of the Yellow River. Mukali had a small force of only two toumans (about twenty thousand men) to accomplish this task. Whenever this force suppressed trouble in one district and moved on, the Kin would try to come back and establish control. Mukali was left to his own devices, and campaigned across northern China for twenty years. In 1235 he died at his post.

The center of Turkic power in Asia was the Khwaresmian Empire, based in Iran and expanding northeastward to the area between the Oxus and Jaxartes Rivers (called Transoxania). Lying between the Khwaresmian and Mongol empires was the state of Kara-Khitai. One of the tribes Genghis had subdued on the Mongolian plateau was the Naiman tribe. During the conflict between the Mongols and Naiman, the Naiman leader died in combat, and his son Kuchluk fled to Kara-Khitai. The ruler of Kara-Khitai received Kuchluk with open arms, giving his daughter to the exile as a wife. The kingdom of Kara-Khitai had been invaded by Khwarezm, lost some of its southern territory, and experienced religious disputes between Buddhists, Muslims, and Nestorian Christians. Kuchluk took advantage by leading a revolt against his father-in-law and seized the throne. Kuchluk then launched a religious persecution against Muslims, who formed the majority of the population. Turkish chiefs in this area contacted Genghis Khan for help. Kuchluk learned of these contacts, and singled these chiefs out for savage treatment.

Genghis now had a valid reason for ridding Kara-Khitai of its ruler, and coming to closer grips with the Turks. Genghis was enjoying the fruits of the Chinese war, and integrating new troops into his army in the Mongolian homeland. He delegated the task of dealing with Kara-Khitai and Kuchluk to Jebei, issuing the orders in early 1218. Jebei had been serving under Mukali, and was near the present China-Korea border when he received orders to take two toumans and conquer Kara-Khitai. After making a 2,500-mile march, this force entered Kara-Khitai. Jebei made it known to the populace he had come to restore religious freedom. He ordered his men to refrain from looting, and enlisted Turkish tribesmen who despised Kuchluk. Jebei was welcomed as a liberator, and conquered Kara-Khitai. Kuchluk was hunted down by a Mongol posse, and executed while trying to escape over the Pamir range. Jebei had enforced the discipline necessary to conduct an almost bloodless coup. Jebei had been in an army opposing Genghis early in his life, and had shot and killed Genghis' horse, a bay with a white blaze on its forehead, earning the nickname "The Arrow." As temporary ruler of Kara-Khitai, he required the

people to turn over to him any bay horses with white foreheads. After receiving this tribute, he sent the herd of more than a thousand horses to Genghis.

Now the Mongol and Khwaresmian empires were neighbors, with the border of the Jaxartes River (now known as Syr-Darya River). The Khwaresmian domain had been expanding at a rate similar to the Mongolian domain. The current Shah, Mohammed, had inherited Iran, added Afghanistan to the Indus River, and now occupied central Asia south of the Aral Sea east of to the Jaxartes. Shah Mohammed knew he would have to deal with the Mongols at some point. Shah Mohammed had sent an embassy to the Monols in 1217, to establish trade relations. Genghis sent a return embassy in 1218, which reached an agreement. In late 1218, the first caravan set out from Genghis' realm. At this time, the conquest of Kara-Khitai was taking place. The army of Jebei stayed in the center of Kara-Khitai. Another smaller Mongol army, led by Subodei, covered Jebei's south flank, and approached the Jaxartes. There was a skirmish between Subodei's force and Khwaresmian forces, mentioned in Muslim chronicles. No details were given, except that the Mongols withdrew. The Muslim chronicles state that Shah Mohammed was impressed by Mongol maneuverability and courage. About this time, the caravan from Genghis reached Khwaresm territory at the town of Otrar on the Jaxartes. The governor of Otrar, a relative of the Shah named Inalchik, asked the Shah for permission to execute the members of the caravan and confiscate the goods. Mohammed approved, and the members of the caravan were killed, except one camel driver who escaped and returned to Mongolia. The survivor told the story to Genghis. Instead of seeking immediate vengeance, Genghis sent another embassy, led by a Muslim and two Mongols. This embassy got through to the Shah. The Shah had the Muslim killed, and shaved the beards and heads of the Mongols, a serious insult. The Mongol ambassadors returned to Genghis in early 1219. Now immediate vengeance would be pursued. Genghis declared war on the Khwaresmian Empire and mobilized the army.

The estimated military force of the Khwaresmian Empire was 400,000 troops, who were mostly mercenaries. Many of these troops were Turkish cavalry, descendants of the steppe people that had preceded the Mongols as conquerors, moving from east to west. There were very few troops in this army that were personally loyal to Shah Mohammed. The Mongol army gathered in the southern foothills of the Altai Mountains, near the headwaters of the Irtysh River. The strength of this Mongol army was estimated between 100,000 and 150,000. This force assembled in early spring 1219, and spent a

month or so fattening their horses for the long march ahead. The obvious path to the enemy was the gap between the Altai Mountains and the northern reaches of the Himalayas, known as the Dzungaria Gap. There were two other paths to the area known as Transoxania, the heart of the Khwarismian realm between the Oxus and Jaxartes. A southern route was through the Tarim basin, which had sufficient oases to feed and water the troops. The problem was that the army would then have to cross the Pamir range to get to Transoxania. The lowest pass in the Pamirs is over 13,000 feet. The northern route went through the Kyzyl-Kum Desert north of the Aral Sea. The length of the march along any of these paths was more than 1,000 miles. After considering the intelligence gathered by the Mongols from merchants, scouting parties, and the prior expedition to conquer Kara-Khitai, Genghis formulated his plan. Subodei by this time was functioning as chief of staff (without the official title), and had input as he had recent experience against the Khwaresmian army.

The first attack on the Khwaresmian empire took place in late summer 1219. Mongol horsemen came through the Dzungaria Gap and appeared east of the lower Jaxartes, in a territory disputed between the Mongolian and Khwaresmian realms. The Mongols seized all the food and cattle they could find, and set fire to all towns and villages. Now a scorched earth area was between the Khwaresmian forces and the Mongols. When the Khwarsmian forces ventured east to engage, the Mongols withdrew behind a screen of burning grass. This raid was meant to cover a main attack to be delivered later. Shah Mohammed thought that the main attack would come somewhere along the Jaxartes River. He had no useful intelligence of enemy intentions. Hence, he disposed his forces along the length of the Jaxartes River and strengthened the garrisons of the main towns of Transoxiana, Samarkand and Bukhara. The Khwaresmian troops were spread over a five-hundred-mile-line, but not concentrated to meet an all out attack. Genghis had set in motion a strategy that would be studied and admired for its brilliance for many years. The attacks would not start until the next year.

Genghis' plan included an attack across the Jaxartes, but it was not the only attack. The twentieth century British military historian B.H. Liddell Hart cited Genghis' plan in his book "Strategy" as the outstanding medieval example of the indirect approach. Hart argued, after personal experience in the trenches of World War I, that the indirect approach was the best way to approach a battle. Hart's account of the Mongol strategy and tactics from this campaign were included in the textbook adopted by the first tank force in Europe, the experimental British Mechanized Force, in 1927. How was this

indirect approach experienced by its opponent?

The first Mongol force to enter Khwarismian territory in early 1220 entered through the Ferghana valley, to the south of the line Shah Mohammed had established on the Jaxartes. This force of two toumans was led by Jebei, who had led them through the Pamir range, crossing in winter. While Jebei's force used the fertile Ferghana valley to regain strength after their ordeal in the mountains, Shah Mohammed sent one of his best generals to Samarkand, preparing for a possible siege. Soon after Jebei made contact, another Mongol force, approximately 70,000 men led by Genghis' son Juchi, retraced their route through the scorched earth to approach the Jaxartes. This army engaged the spread-out Khwaresmian forces, inflicting casualties and then moving south towards the source of the Jaxartes, nearing Samarkand. The Mongols crossed the Jaxartes at Otrar, besieging the command of Inalchik, whom the Mongols held responsible for starting this conflict. After a long and desperate siege, Otrar and Inalchik were captured. The town was sacked, and Inalchik was executed in a manner that fit his love of treasure. His ears and nostrils were filled with molten silver. Shah Mohammad attempted to concentrate his forces near Samarkand, and sent to Iran for reinforcements. Two arms of the Mongol army were heading in a giant pincer for Samarkand.

Shah Mohammed soon received worse news. Another Mongol force rode north through the desolate Kyzyl-Kum Desert north and east of the Aral Sea, crossed the Oxus from the west, and was heading to Bukhara. This force of about 30,000 was led by Genghis himself, including Subodei and the Guard. Genghis set up a siege of Bukhara, leaving one of the city's gates unguarded. The Turkish mercenary garrison, scarcely believing its luck, fled through the opening. The Mongols pursued, destroying the garrison to a man when it reached open country. The civilians of Bukhara held out for a month before capitulating. Genghis ordered all occupants outside the walls, with just the clothes on their back. He then turned the town over to his troopers for ransacking. One imam of the main mosque made a comment to a fellow imam that summarized the experience of Mongol conquest. "Be silent," he said, "it is the wind of God's omnipotence that bloweth" (Legg, p. 271).

Genghis led his army east to Samarkand. The armies of Juchi and Jebei were there already. The plan for these forces to meet at the capital of Samarkand had been carried out, even though these armies had covered great distances over many kinds of terrain. The armies had vast numbers of prisoners. Using their normal method near a city, the Mongols drove their captives ahead of them for an attack on the

outskirts of Samarkand. No soldiers from Samarkand came to fight, but a large body of citizens came out to defend their town. These civilians were no match for the Mongols, who defeated them quickly. The Turkish mercenary troops then emerged from the fortress of Samarkand without their arms. The Mongols took them prisoner, and stormed the city. A small loyal force remained in the central mosque, which was stormed and then razed. Within five days of the first assault, all of Samarkand was in Mongol hands. Genghis treatment of the prisoners reflected his code of honor. The Turkish troops had betrayed their rightful lord. All were killed. The surviving civilians and loyal troops had earned their lives with their loyalty to the Shah. The Mongols took all the useful artisans back to Mongolia, but spared the remainder.

In five months, the Mongols had secured a great military victory over a theoretically superior foe. The Khwaresmian Empire still existed, but most of its troops had been either killed or captured by the Mongols. Three tasks remained for Genghis to complete his conquest of this empire. First, Genghis learned that Shah Mohammed had escaped from Samarkand. He sent three toumans, led by Jebei and Subodei, in pursuit. Their instructions were to pursue, capture or kill the Khwaresmian emperor, and make sure no reinforcements were available to attack the main Mongol force. Second, Mohammed's son, Jelal ad-Din, had escaped to the Hindu Kush region. Jelal was young, personable, and courageous. He was trying to raise the tribesmen of this area, declaring a holy war against the infidel invaders. The response was such that the Mongols had to eventually deal with this threat. Third, smaller cities in the conquered area were still holding out. The Mongols had yet to master siege technology, even though they were better than they had been several years ago. We will consider these points in reverse order.

The first city on the upper Oxus that was besieged was Urgenj. The garrison of Urgenj included some of Mohammed's best and most loyal troops. The normal Mongol command structure of smaller armies was to have one of Genghis' relatives in command, with an experienced, trusted general as a subordinate, who ran the campaign. In the case of Urgenj, Genghis' two oldest sons were there, with the experienced Bogurchi in actual control. During the time the Mongols were stalled outside the walls of Urgenj, Juchi and Chagatai (Genghis' first and second sons by his first wife) got into a huge argument. The reason for this dispute was the knowledge that Juchi's paternity was questionable. Borte, mother of both Juchi and Chagatai, had been abducted by the Merkits soon after her marriage to Genghis. She was recaptured about three months later. Borte then gave birth to her first

child, Juchi. The dates were such that it was very possible she had become pregnant while in Merkit hands. Genghis ignored this, and treated Juchi all his life at his eldest son. This caused considerable jealousy from the other sons, particularly after it became clear there would be a huge inheritance. When the report of this drunken dispute reached Genghis, it became a major factor in his decision as to who would inherit the title of Great Khan. Bogurchi would not let this dispute delay the culmination of the siege. Bogurchi called on the expert siege technicians that had accompanied the Mongols. After a siege of over a month, Urgenj offered to surrender. The Mongols refused to take the surrender, wishing to attack and destroy the town. They soon accomplished this goal. The population was divided into three classes, artisans, slaves, and useless. The artisans and slaves were either kept for use by the army, or carted off to Mongolia. The useless were slaughtered. Word of this treatment spread, which led to the surrender of the rest of the cities of Transoxiana, so they could avoid the fate of Urgenj.

Genghis was ready to move south into what is currently eastern Afghanistan. To protect his western flank, Genghis sent another force into Khorasan (now eastern Iran). This force was led by his youngest son by Borte, Tului. These two armies moved out in the fall of 1220. Tului was campaigning in a more settled region, so he took the siege equipment. By now, the Mongols' ability to conduct a siege successfully against a walled city had improved. Tului was very successful and brutal in this campaign. Seventy thousand captives were slaughtered at Nissa. While conducting the siege of Merv, the army diverted the nearby river into the city, wrecking every building. After the conclusion of the siege, only the tomb of Sultan Sanjar (died 1157) remained. It has been estimated over a million people were exterminated at Merv. Similar procedures were followed at Herat and Nishapur. At Nishapur, a brother-in-law of Tului died during the siege. After Nishapur was captured, a throne was set up for the widow, a daughter of Genghis. She witnessed the death of every living thing, human and animal, that the Mongols could find in that town. All the heads of the humans were cut off and piled up. This treatment led to surrender and evacuation of a town, or desperate resistance, which was futile in the end. Tului was acting in within the military custom of the Mongols, and with the knowledge that the populations he was destroying vastly outnumbered the Mongols. Always, artisans who had useful skills, and people to be enslaved were saved. But by modern standards, it was genocide.

Hundreds of miles to the east, Genghis was pursuing Jelal ad-Din. Using his main army of over 70,000 men, Genghis was not deterred by

the mountains of Afghanistan. Eventually the Mongols drove Jelal's army to the banks of the Indus River. Jelal tried to get his troops across the river to save as many as he could. The Mongols sent a force of bowmen to encircle Jelal on the west bank of the Indus. Jelal expected a flurry of arrows, but it did not come. It was obvious that the Mongols' instructions were not to kill, but to capture Jelal. Genghis wanted to have the symbol of resistance in his own hands, not dead, as his martyrdom could be disputed. Jelal resisted as long as he could, holding off the bowmen. Genghis sent in the Guard, who overwhelmed the stand of Jelal's army. Jelal saw he could not resist anymore. Jelal took a handful of supporters, and galloped off a low cliff, leaping into the Indus. Genghis was able to watch Jelal hang onto his horse, and get across the Indus through storms of Mongol arrows. Genghis observed to the people accompanying him, that Jelal was a man they should emulate. A small Mongol column followed Jelal across the Indus, causing Jelal to retreat far enough so as to eliminate any threat to the Mongols. Genghis contemplated invading India, but chose not to. The chronicles tell the story that Genghis encountered green creature with one horn, who told Genghis to return home. Genghis consulted with his astrologer, Yeliu Ch'u ts'ai. Yeliu identified the animal as a unicorn, and said the Mongol god had sent it to Genghis as a command. By coincidence, an outbreak of disease hit the Mongol camp at the same time.

Genghis had several reasons to return home. The spoils, human and otherwise, of the conquest of Khwarezm were huge. Just transporting these spoils was a major military operation in itself. The supposedly conquered province of Hsi-Hsia had been required to contribute a force to the Mongol army. The rulers there had refused, and were now in open revolt, preying on the caravan routes in their territory. And Shah Mohammad had been run to earth, which was reported to Genghis by Subodei himself.

The first operation Genghis initiated in late summer 1220 was to send Jebei and Subodei in pursuit of Shah Mohammed. The trail of Shah Mohammed led the Mongols from Samarkand to Balkh, Herat, Merv, and Nishapur, all before Tului's army destroyed those cities. Mohammed continued from Nishapur along the southern side of the Elburz range, to his homeland of Khwaresm on the south shore of the Caspian Sea. Mohammed fled to Abeskun Island in the southern Caspian, where he died in late 1220. Subodei had himself bandaged as an arrow messenger, and rode over a thousand miles to meet with Genghis, contacting Genghis before Tului's attack on Khorasan had started. Subodei had been gathering intelligence about the territory north and west of the Caspian. He proposed that an army conquer

Khorasan, which Subodei had just crossed in pursuit of Mohammed. As seen above, Genghis put that suggestion into operation. Subodei also proposed he and Jebei take their force on an extended raid and intelligence gathering operation to the unknown areas north and west of the Caspian. Genghis agreed, setting a three-year limit on the operation.

The Secret History of the Mongols describes this three-year operation in one sentence: "He also sent Subodei-ba'atur (Subodei the Valiant) northwards to attack as far as the lands and peoples … and crossing the great waters of the Volga and the Ural Rivers, Subodei-ba'atur to go as far as Kiev." The actual operation was much more complicated than that. Subodei returned to his command of two toumans. After threatening Tabriz, in present Azerbaijan, with capture, the Mongols secured required supplies of horses and silver. This detachment spent the winter of 1220–1 on the steppes just south of the Caspian, grazing their horses for the long ride ahead, and recruiting "wild Kurds" to raise their strength to about 30,000. In February 1221, the Mongols marched north to the Kura River, taking the valley route west to reach the pass over the Caucasus. This route took them past the city of Tbilisi, capital of Georgia. The Georgian king, George III, knew what had happened in Tabriz, and determined to defeat the Mongols on the battlefield instead of submitting. George gathered his army of about 70,000, and met the Mongols on a plain near the Kura, east of Tbilisi, in late February. Even though the Georgians had a more than two to one numerical advantage, Subodei's strategy of false retreat, followed by attacks from both flanks was successful. The king fled with the few surviving knights to his capital. The gates were closed, awaiting the anticipated attack or siege. The Mongols instead turned south.

Subodei knew he could not afford great battles, as his mission was one of raiding and gathering intelligence. He returned to northern Iran, and subdued two cities he had bypassed before. To take these cities without casualties to Mongol troops, Subodei used the tactic of driving prisoners before the army. The result of this campaign was destruction of Maragha and Hamadan, and the slaughter of the population. The Mongols used the rest of the summer of 1221 to re-equip and resupply in the northern Iran plain. In late autumn 1221, the Mongols started their trek across the Caucasus. This time they went along the west coast of the Caspian, reaching the town of Derbend, a fortified town near the pass called Bab al-Abwab (the Gate of Gates). Subodei had hoped to avoid conflict with the Georgians by taking this route during the late autumn, but King George had raised another army and was blocking the pass. This battle, which took place near the mouth of the Kura River, resulted in another Mongol victory. George returned to

Tbilisi, dying in late 1221. His sister Rusudan succeeded him. Rusudan dispatched an appeal to the Pope, which was the first inkling Europeans had of what was happening in central Asia. Rusudan wrote in early 1222: “a savage people of Tartars, hellish of aspect, as voracious as wolves in their hunger for spoils, as brave as lions, have invaded my country…. The brave knighthood of Georgia has hunted them down out of the country killing 25,000 of the invaders. But alas, we are no longer in a position to take up the Cross as we had promised your Holiness to do” (Legg, p. 278). As with many war communiqués, this letter mixed fact and fiction. The Mongols were now out of Georgia, but after victory, not defeat.

Subodei had not wanted this battle. The town of Derbend fell without a struggle, and no slaughter ensued because Subodei needed the help of Derbend’s ruler, Rashid. Rashid had taken refuge in a fortress outside Derbend. Negotiations gave Subodei what he wanted, which was supplies and guides to lead the Mongols through the mountains. Rashid expected to have to deal with the Mongols soon, so he instructed the guides to lead the Mongols through the mountains by the longest and most difficult route. Rashid sent warning messages by shorter routes to the peoples on the steppes north of the Caucasus. Subodei suspected this possibility, and selected one of the guides and had him beheaded in front of the others. The remaining guides stayed loyal to their instructions from Rashid, and led the Mongols over the mountains by a difficult route. This winter crossing was costly. Much of the Mongol baggage and siege equipment was lost. Hundreds of Mongol soldiers died. On their exit from the mountains in early 1222, the Mongols were confronted by an army of more than 50,000, deployed to stop the Mongol exit from the narrow mountain pass they were using. This army was a coalition of peoples who lived on the steppes just north of the Caspian and Black seas, led by a Cuman chief. Subodei felt he had no alternative but to attack, and the exhausted Mongols were defeated. They retreated up the pass, and took up strong positions. Then Subodei turned to diplomacy. He tried to bribe the Cuman leader with gold and horses, pointing out that the Mongols and Cumans were pagan peoples of the steppes who had more in common than with the Christians and Muslims who surrounded them. The Cuman chief took the bribe, and led his detachment away from this area. The remaining forces were now outnumbered by the Mongols, who attacked and slaughtered them. Subodei sent scouts to follow the Cumans. After learning that the Cumans had split up, Subodei and Jebei attacked the larger force and recovered their bribes while killing the Cuman chief. Then the Mongols turned east, captured and sacked Astrakhan on the northern shore of the Caspian and rested

for a while to strengthen their horses. The Mongols were now out of the mountains and back in their familiar steppe environment, with the road to southern Russia open.

Subodei's force was now slightly less than 20,000. He decided to continue the reconnaissance by dividing the army. Jebei took one detachment and rode west to find the Don River, and wait for Subodei to arrive with the other part of the army. Subodei went southwest to scout the coast of the Sea of Azov, and make sure the Cumans had not raised more forces to oppose him. While following the northern coast of the Sea of Azov, Subodei arrived at the Crimean Peninsula. There he encountered a Venetian merchant colony at Sudak. The Venetians were aware of the Mongol progress through southeastern Europe, and knew the cost of not cooperating. The Venetians asked Subodei's help in eliminating their competition, Genoese trading posts in the Crimea. Subodei complied, asking in return for information about Europe in return. Subodei had experts in his army that could record and compile this kind of information. Subodei learned of the extent of lands, divisions in those lands, and riches that lay west of the Don.

Subodei joined forces with Jebei between the Don and Dniester Rivers, raiding there in the autumn and early winter of 1222. The surviving Cuman leaders had gone to Kiev to plead for help from the Russian princes in this area. Originally, the Russians were happy to see the Cumans, their usual enemy, beaten by the Mongols. But after the Mongols raided in the area between the Don and Dniester, coming closer to Kiev, the attitude of the Russian leaders changed. At this time, there was no large state in this area, only smaller states ruled by various princes. Several of these princes joined forces to oppose the Mongols. These included the prince of Galicia, his son the prince of Volynia, and the princes of Kursk, Kiev, Suzdal, Chernigov, and Rostov. The army gathered by these princes numbered about 80,000. When this army started moving south, the Mongols were east of the Dniester. The Russians were moving down both the Dniester and Dnieper Rivers, and had a rendezvous set up for an island in the Dnieper. Mongol scouts reported these movements, and Subodei led a retreat to east of the Dnieper. Subodei tried diplomacy again. He sent two ambassadors to the Prince of Kiev, whom he thought was the leader of the Russian army. The proposal was that the Russians and Mongols were both enemies of the Cumans, so there was no need for the Russians to fight the Mongols. The Prince of Kiev knew what had happened to the Cumans, so he showed his refusal of the proposal by putting the Mongol ambassadors to death. Subodei sent a message to the Russians, a declaration of war.

Subodei started the war by retreating. He left a rear guard of about 1,000 to watch the Dnieper River crossing used by the Russians. The officer in charge determined correctly that the Russians had no supreme commander, that all the various detachments had separate commanders. He got a message to that effect off to Subodei. Soon after that, a Russian force of about 10,000 attacked the Mongol rear guard. After heavy losses, the Russians overwhelmed and slaughtered the Mongols to the last man. The leader of the Russian force, Prince Mstislav, took off in pursuit of the main Mongol army. The various other Russian detachments followed as best they could, in an uncoordinated manner. The Mongols continued their retreat, over ground they had covered before, for nine days.

During this pursuit, the Russian forces became strung out over about fifty miles. When the Mongols reached the Kalka River, Subodei determined the ground suited the Mongols. The Mongol army turned around, formed battle formations, and faced the oncoming army with the river at its back. The Russians nearest to the Mongols launched an attack, without waiting for the other detachments to catch up. As the attacks came piecemeal, the Mongols were able to counterattack separate detachments, never being outnumbered in a specific fight, even though the total Russian force was more than four times larger than the Mongols. At the Kalka River, first Prince Mstislav, then the Cumans, then the Prince of Kursk, and finally the Prince of Chernigov were defeated in succession. The survivors fled as best they could, covered by a rear guard of about 10,000 led by the Prince of Kiev. The Prince of Kiev covered the retreat all the way to the Dnieper. He covered the crossing of the river from the furious Mongol pursuit. The Prince of Kiev's action allowed the survivors of other units to escape with their lives. However, the Mongols surrounded his force, and killed them to the last man. The Prince of Kiev was captured, and killed in accordance with Mongol tradition. The blood of royalty could not be shed, except in battle. The Prince's punishment for killing the Mongol ambassadors was to be suffocated inside a box.

There was now no organized opposition to the Mongols on the south Russian steppe. Subodei re-crossed the Dnieper and started ravaging the countryside. Then a messenger arrived from Genghis. Another Mongol army, led by Juji, was in conflict with the Volga Bulgars, another steppe people based on the Volga near present day Volgagrad. Genghis ordered Subodei to aid Juji. Subodei obeyed, and led his army east, linking up with Juji. The combined Mongol force defeated the Volga Bulgars, and destroyed a branch of the Cumans who had allied to the Volga Bulgars. After these battles, this Mongol army returned to the Transoxiana, where Genghis awaited with the rest of

the Mongol army. The recombined Mongol army marched home to Mongolia, arriving back in Mongolia in summer of 1223. During this march, Jebei died.

This was the end of one of the most remarkable military campaigns in history. Genghis had destroyed the Khwaresmian Empire, an empire much larger than his own. This empire, consisting of most of what is now Afghanistan, Iran, Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan, and Turkmenistan, and about half of present Pakistan, was taken over by the Mongols. Genghis was satisfied with this, and on his return to Mongolia never expressed interest in expanding his realm further west. But Genghis had sons, and would soon face the dilemma of how to divide his realm. Subodei was an obedient subordinate, who had just led the longest (over 5,500 miles) cavalry raid in history. He established good intelligence sources to keep in touch with the political status of areas from the Caucasus to Poland. He kept all this in mind, waiting for the opportunity to return. And when he returned, he intended to return in force.

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10

1225—Southeast Asia and Angkor

While the Mongol expansion affected areas of Asia from Korea to Iran, not all Asian areas were affected. Southeast Asia would escape Mongol influence until the mid–1200s. A review of the status of this area in 1225 indicates what the Mongols would encounter. This survey of Southeast Asia will include the area of the current states of Burma, Thailand, Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia. The kingdoms of the 13th century did not follow the current borders, but five kingdoms were the main players in this geographical area.

The dynasty ruling Burma in 1225 was named after its capital, Pagan. The legendary founder of this dynasty established his rule in 1044. The population of what is now Burma consisted in the main of two peoples, the Mon based near the mouths of the Irrawaddy and Salween Rivers, and the Burmese who dominated the upper Irrawaddy valley. Pagan was on the upper Irrawaddy, and Burmese in origin. The Burmese took over the country, eventually absorbing the Mon people. The Pagan kingdom had strong trade contacts with Ceylon. This resulted in Buddhist missions to Burma. The first ruler of the Pagan kingdom was converted to Buddhism. Most of the population followed, mixing Buddhist practices with the animism that had been their original religion. The Pagan kingdom expanded from its base of Pagan, a town on the Irrawaddy not far from present day Mandalay, to include most of present day Burma. There was a long conflict with the neighboring Khmer kingdom, but by 1225 the Pagan kingdom had been stable for a few decades. Many religious buildings had been completed, which is the most visible surviving evidence of Pagan rule. These buildings are Buddhist temples and pagodas. The inscriptions on the buildings show the gradual takeover of this area by the Burmese. Originally, the inscriptions are in the Mon language. By 1200, Mon inscriptions disappear, and all inscriptions are in Burmese. Due to the humid climate, these inscriptions on stone buildings are the only native contemporary records in Burma. Other information came from chronicles of neighboring countries.

In 1225, the emperor of Pagan was Natonmya. He was the son of the longest reigning Pagan emperor, Narapatisithu. Narapatisithu

sponsored the spread of Buddhism by sending young monks to Ceylon to study. Through the efforts of these returned monks, Buddhism became a popular religion throughout southeast Asia. Versions of Hinduism remained court religions in other kingdoms, but Buddhism (with variations from the people) became entrenched enough to withstand the spread of Islam, that was ongoing in Malaya and Indonesia. Natonmya built the largest and final temples of the Pagan era. Natonmya was devout, devoting himself to pious works and leaving the running of the government to five ministers of state. In 1225, the Pagan Empire enjoyed peaceful relations with its neighbors, and a stable government.

In what is now northern Thailand and Laos, a state was in the process of formation in 1225. A kingdom founded by Thais formed in northeast Burma, called Mogaung, in 1215. Two Thai chieftains on the upper Mekong made a marriage alliance. This drew Thai people from the surrounding areas. Thai power was growing in this area, but the mass of what is now Thailand was under Khmer control in 1225. The Thais were a minor, but growing factor in the power politics of 1225. They were based in an inland swath including what now are northeast Burma, northern Thailand, and most of Laos. Expansion to the south would come later in this century.

The area we now call Vietnam was divided into two kingdoms in 1225. The dividing line was close to the 17th parallel that divided the country in the mid–20th century. There were two dominant peoples in this area. The Chams mostly lived in southern Vietnam. The Vietnamese lived in the Red River valley and Annam coastal section of northern Vietnam. The southern kingdom was called Champa. A struggle for independence from Chinese domination by the northern portion resulted in another kingdom, called Annam. The northern half of Vietnam had been under strong Chinese influence dating back to the start of the first millennium, which was fading around 900 due to the end of the Tang dynasty in China. The influence of India, transmitted through the Khmer and evidenced by Hindu beliefs of the elite, was stronger in the southern half. Struggles between the north (Annam) and south (Champa) started after Annam freed itself from Chinese domination. In the 11th century, the provinces just south of Hue changed hands, being taken over by Annam. After much fighting, peace was made in the early 12th century. Champa agreed to the permanent loss of its northern territory. The Khmer attacked Annam in 1135. Champa declined to join this attack. In retaliation, the Khmer attacked Champa and took over the northern part of the Champa kingdom. Champa resistance was concentrated on the coast north of the Mekong Delta. A struggle between Champa and the Khmer went

on for the next seventy years. By 1203, the Khmer occupied the entire domain of Champa. This occupation went on until 1220. The Khmer withdrew voluntarily, and a prince of the old royal Champa line assumed the task of reconstruction. The recovery was slow, and the dispute between Champa and Annam over the three border provinces remained.

When a new dynasty, the Tran, took over in 1225, Champa immediately tried to take its old provinces back. Champa tried a diplomatic approach in 1225, which was rejected by Annam. The status of low-level conflict between Champa and Annam started in 1225. Neither kingdom could secure the upper hand until the conflict was taken out of their hands in the late 13th century.

The remaining kingdom in southeast Asia was the strongest, the Khmer kingdom. This kingdom left the most visible evidence of a centralized state, in the community of Angkor Wat. We will first see how this kingdom arose before discussing the site of Angkor Wat. The Khmer kingdom based in what is now Cambodia started around 550. This state took its methods of ruling from Indian influences. The original religion of the people and rulers was Hinduism. Hinduism embraces all gods, so there was no difficulty for ordinary people to include their prior animistic practices. The elite emulated the elite of northeast India, and started to build temples to the various gods of the Hindu pantheon. By 1000, the king of the Khmer would become part of that pantheon, temples being built to the king during his lifetime. By 1000, the Khmer kingdom ruled over what is now Cambodia, most of Thailand, and southeastern Burma. In the middle of the 11th century, the Pagan kingdom expanded into southern Burma, taking over the area around the mouth of the Salween River. The Khmer had loosely ruled that area, and were ejected. From then until 1225, there was peace between the Khmer and Pagan kingdoms, based on a border near the present day border of Burma and Thailand. Most of what is now Thailand was under Khmer rule during this time as well. Thai political entities were originating around 1225 in northern Thailand. The king of the Khmer was in the late 12th century was Jayavarman VII. Jayavarman solved the problem of Champa by conquering it. This period, from 1181 to about 1220, marks the largest extent of the Khmer kingdom. Chinese sources state that the Khmer domain extended from the Malay Peninsula across the south of Thailand, Cambodia, and Vietnam, north to the southern border of Annam, across to Vientiane and northern Thailand.

The date of Jayavarman VII's death is not known. It is estimated as sometime between 1203 and 1218. To expand and then consolidate

his kingdom, Jayavarman had imposed heavy taxation and demands for labor on his kingdom. Suryavarman II and Jayavarman VII were responsible for the greatest monument to the Khmer kingdom, but the cost was excessive. A historian posed the question as to whether these kings were “megalomaniacs whose foolish prodigality was one of the causes of the decline of his country.” (Hall, p. 121). The evidence indicates that the power of the Khmer kingdom declined soon thereafter. One result of this overextension was that the Khmer evacuated Champa in 1220. In 1225, the Khmer kingdom was slightly reduced in extent, but still the most formidable state in southeast Asia. Buddhism entered the Khmer kingdom with a Khmer prince who had been a monk in Burma. This prince, who may have been a son of Jayavarman VII, brought some fellow monks to Cambodia and established a monastery. Buddhism grew from this start, by 1225 becoming the most popular religion of the common people. The other religion in the Khmer kingdom was Hinduism, which remained the religion of the elite. The result of the rulers’ practice of Hinduism and need to exalt their rule was Angkor.

The original buildings at Angkor date from the 10th and 11th centuries. They were built to resemble mountains. The kings were not rich or powerful enough to erect large buildings, but these early temples are small and beautiful. The successor kings tried to outdo their predecessors. Hence, the size of the temples increased until the largest were built in the late 12th and early 13th centuries. The basic structure of a temple mountain was borrowed from India. It was rectangular, rising in steps to a flat top which was surrounded by a wall, which enclosed one or more shrines to the builder and his particular god. Early buildings were done in brick, late buildings in stone. The ornamentation of the buildings was elaborate, telling the story of the king or of his patron gods. Some of the finest examples of these temples are in the vicinity of Angkor, built by nobles about their own families. Angkor itself was reserved for the kings. The largest two centers of devotion in Angkor were built by the two most powerful kings of the Khmer, Suryavarman II and Jayavarman VII. Suryavarman II built Angkor Wat, starting early in his reign, which lasted from 1113 to 1150. As this structure faced west, the direction in which Indochinese mythology says the dead depart, Suryavarman meant Angkor Wat to be his grave as well as monument. The entire structure was meant to represent the center of the universe. This monument, 1700 yards long and 1500 yards wide, was the largest yet built at Angkor. It is considered the culmination of Cambodian art. When the next great king of the Khmer came to build his own monument at Angkor, Jayavarman VII decided to outdo Angkor Wat.

Since the construction of Angkor Wat, Angkor had been raided and plundered by the Champans. Jayavarman set out to build an impregnable monument to himself. There was not enough room in the center of Angkor for his buildings so many old monuments were razed. The site, Angkor Thom, was more than four times the size of Angkor Wat. The temple mountain at the center of Angkor Thom was slightly smaller than the temple mountain at Angkor Wat. Angkor Thom was surrounded by a moat, and only accessible by causeway. The temple was topped with a tower of gold on which were sculpted four gigantic human faces. The entire complex was constructed so hastily that it is in a worse state of ruin than the other, older monuments at Angkor.

The city of Angkor was more than just these monuments. It was the capital of the Khmer realm. This was where the king lived, and where the realm was administered. The cost of the monuments built at Angkor, and the wars of Jayavarman VII greatly weakened the Khmer regime. As seen by the withdrawal from Champa in 1220, the Khmer were not expanding by 1225. Their size of this kingdom remained constant for the next seventy years.

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11

1227/9—The Death of Genghis Khan, Succession in Empire

After gathering his entire army north of the Aral Sea, Genghis Khan led this army back to Mongolia. In 1224 and 1225, the main Mongol army did not leave the Mongolian plateau. Armies remained in north China and Transoxania, but further aggressive action awaited Genghis' lead. Genghis attended to domestic duties for a couple of years.

When Genghis was gathering his forces for the invasion of Khwaresm, he had asked for help from the Tangut rulers of Hsi-Hsia in what is now far northwest China and Tibet. The rulers declined. In 1225, Genghis decided to deal with this snub. The Mongol army set out in the autumn of 1225 for Hsi-Hsia. On the way, Genghis fell off his horse in the course of a hunt. Even though Genghis was toughened by a life in the saddle, he was over sixty, an advanced age for anyone in this century. His sons, accompanying the army, recommended withdrawal to Mongolia to allow Genghis to recover from his fever. He refused, saying "This is too much. How can we withdraw, letting him speak boastfully like this! Even if I die, I must face his boastful words" (Grousset, p. 247).

The campaign against His-Hsia took most of the year 1226 and early 1227. The Tanguts finally surrendered in spring 1227. The king of the Tanguts surrendered, and was smothered per the Mongol practice of not shedding the blood of royalty. This campaign had been difficult, and Genghis was showing his age. After the conclusion of the war, the Mongols started an easy march back to Mongolia. In the course of this march, Genghis died on August 25, 1227. The site of his death was in the Ordos Loop, south of the Yellow River. His sons organized a procession home with the body. Any non–Mongol who viewed the body on this march was slain. The burial was in the Mongolian homeland, near the headwaters of the Onon and Kerulen Rivers. The site was secret, and has never been found.

Genghis Khan is one of the most remarkable persons in history. He was born of the minor nobility in a very remote part of the world. He founded an empire that would continue to grow. Much of this was due

to his military genius, which is widely recognized. He had the political genius to operate in his pastoral world in a very effective manner. Judgment of him by historians from sedentary societies has been harsh. An example was rendered by Juvaine, a Persian historian who served the Mongols later in the 13th century. “He was possessed of great energy, discernment, genius and understanding. He was an overthrower of enemies, intrepid, sanguinary, cruel. A just, resolute butcher” (Legg, p. 281). One estimate of the number of victims of Mongol conquest while Genghis was alive is over fifteen million. Considering the state of technology and the much smaller total population of the earth in the 13th century, this ratio proportionally may exceed even the slaughters of the 20th century. And many more conquests were coming from the Mongol empire. Genghis was unfazed by this fact. Just before he died, he reportedly gave his son Tului a plan for the final conquest of the Kin of north China. He is reported to have said: “I have committed many cruelties, and killed an incalculable number of men without knowing whether it was right. But as to what is thought of me, I am indifferent” (Legg, p. 281). Genghis remained a nomadic Mongol at heart, and had molded this nation and set it on the road to empire.

Genghis final task was to determine who inherited what in the empire he had founded. He had been thinking about this for a long time. All his sons by his principal wife Borte had strengths and weaknesses. No other children, and there were many others, were considered. The eldest two sons, Juchi and Chagatai, had proven themselves as capable commanders. Their dispute, which came to a head during the siege of Urgenj, convinced Genghis that neither could be trusted with overall control of the empire. The youngest son, Tului, proved himself as a commander during the conquest of Iran. Mongol tradition required the youngest son to tend the homeland of his father. The third son, Ogedai, was the most convivial of his children, having no problems getting along with the diverse set of peoples a great ruler had to deal with. Genghis thought that Ogedai had the best judgment of any of his sons.

Genghis decision reflected these opinions. Tului was given rule of the Mongolian homeland. Chagatai, who was considered poor at politics, was given rule of the old Kara-Khitai state, and other areas in what is now northwest China. Juchi had died just before the death of Genghis Khan. The area he was to get was divided among his sons. Juchi’s inheritance was the area north of the Aral and Caspian Seas. His oldest son, Batu, received the westernmost part of this inheritance. Ogedai was given the khanate, overall rule of the entire Mongol empire. Many other relatives of Genghis received small apanages

(small areas to rule) in areas stretching from Korea to Iran.

This decision had been passed on by Genghis to Tului, who by Mongol tradition was the guardian of hearth and home. Tului implemented these changes, and called for a quriltai to confirm these actions in late 1228. The quriltai met in spring 1229 in the Mongolian homeland. Necessary political actions and ceremonies took place there. Tului proposed Ogedai for the khanate, Ogedai suggested that Tului had been closest in attendance on their father, and that Tului should be great khan. The quriltai had no wish to reverse the decision of Genghis, and proclaimed Ogedai as Great Khan.

Ogedai was not the brilliant originator and military strategist that Genghis was. Genghis was correct in his determination that Ogedai was the most intelligent of his sons. At the start of his reign, the main question was what to do now. At this point in their empire, the Mongols could not imagine resting on their laurels. Expansion was inevitable. The direction needed to be determined.

Genghis had confided his plan for elimination of the Kin in northern China to Tului during the last month of his life. Tului passed the plan on to Ogedai. All the top Mongols consulted with Mukali, who was still campaigning against the Kin. The plan was eventually agreed on.

During the past few years, Jelal, escaped son of Khwaresmian Shah Mohammed, Jelal, had reestablished his rule Afghanistan and some of Iran in the absence of the main Mongol army. The Mongols determined their strength was sufficient to handle this area as well as north China. These campaigns would not be launched until 1230. The government of the empire continued as before. Ogedei used Yeliu ch'u ts'ai as his father had done. Yeliu was now chief minister, and would have the greatest voice in administering any new conquests. We will see how these campaigns proceeded later.

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12

1229—Excommunicated Crusader Frederick II in the Holy Land

As a result of the Battle of Bouvines, discussed in a prior chapter, Holy Roman Emperor Otto IV lost most of his power in that Empire. Even before that battle, his rule had been disputed. The beneficiary of this was Frederick of Sicily, who was eventually crowned Emperor in Aachen in 1215. As Frederick was the grandson of Frederick Barbarossa, he took the title of Emperor Frederick II. At the time of his coronation, Frederick II took the Cross, promising to lead a Crusade to the Holy Land.

By 1227, the promise to take the Cross of Emperor Frederick II of the Holy Roman Empire was twelve years old. Frederick was joined by his wife Constance and his son Henry in Germany late in 1216. His predecessor as emperor, Otto of Brunswick, died in 1218. Otto left the imperial regalia in his possession to Frederick, and instructed his followers to support Frederick. Frederick travelled around Germany getting to know the local rulers, and assuring them of his support for local rule, confirming the rights and privileges of the local rulers. He was successful in this. At a meeting of the princes of the empire in Frankfurt in April 1220, Frederick secured the election of his son Henry as German king. This meant the princes recognized Henry as the heir to Frederick for the imperial throne. Henry remained in Germany, under the guardianship of various clerics and nobles, until he reached his majority in 1225.

Frederick had been negotiating with Pope Honorius III to be crowned Emperor by the Pope. After Frederick and his party reached Bologna in northern Italy, more negotiations took place. Frederick delayed by dispatching a trusted aide to meet and negotiate directly with the Pope. These negotiations were successful, and Frederick was crowned Holy Roman Emperor in Rome by Pope Honorius III on November 22, 1220. Frederick reaffirmed his crusading vow, promising to leave in 1221 and support the ongoing crusade in Egypt. Frederick then took the short journey south to enter his Kingdom of Sicily. Frederick II's more impressive title was Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, but he spent more time and energy on his other realm, the Kingdom of Sicily.

Frederick considered himself a Sicilian, and that realm was more important to him than the Empire.

Frederick spent the next six years establishing his rule in the Kingdom of Sicily. He had been King there since 1209. During the first three years of his rule there had been many problems establishing that he was really in charge. Then Frederick left in 1212 to claim the imperial crown. Constance had been his regent until she joined Frederick in Germany in 1216. After that, an ineffective regent ruled. Frederick now took control. His first act on entering the Kingdom was to issue decrees known as the Assizes of Capua. This notified the nobility that all their holdings were subject to review by the King. The Assizes re-instated the Norman system of government that had been instituted by Frederick's grandfather. He then proceeded south through the mainland portion of the Kingdom. Legend has it that he met Francis of Assisi on this trip. The final destination was the island of Sicily, the other half of the Kingdom. In June 1221, Frederick's wife Constance died, and was buried in Palermo.

Even though the Muslim population of Sicily had been under pressure to either convert or leave the Kingdom since the late 12th century, a large Muslim population remained on the island in 1221. This population was concentrated in western and southern Sicily. There had been a low-level guerrilla rebellion against the local nobles and clerics going on for several years. Frederick was sympathetic to Muslims, never insisting that they convert to live in his kingdom. But he could not abide rebellion. He led a force against the Muslims, subduing the rebellion by 1224. He determined that the best solution to having Muslims in his kingdom was to concentrate them in one community. The people captured in this campaign were relocated to Lucera, an old Byzantine settlement on the mainland. Lucera eventually became a Muslim town of over fifteen thousand. The practice of Islam was encouraged there, and Muslims were proclaimed "serfs of the chamber." Jews were given this status as well. That meant they were under the protection of the King.

Frederick and the Pope met again in 1223, which resulted in a promise from Frederick to go on crusade at a future, indeterminate date. By this time the Damietta expedition had been defeated and returned to Europe. One of the participants in the 1223 meeting was John of Brienne, who had been at Damietta. John of Brienne was titular King of Jerusalem, because his deceased wife had been heiress of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. John of Brienne had a daughter Isabella, who was now heiress of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Negotiations between John of Brienne, Pope Honorius, and Frederick's aide

Herman von Salza resulted in a marriage agreement. Frederick was to marry Isabella and lead a crusade to reconstitute the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The definite date of the crusading expedition was to be 1225. John of Brienne was sent to northern Europe to recruit crusaders, and Frederick was to fund the crusade.

The response to the proposed crusade was underwhelming in northern Europe. The marriage to Isabella was delayed. Frederick and the Pope negotiated a delay of another year for the start of the crusade. Isabella was crowned Queen of Jerusalem in Acre in early 1225. She then came to Brindisi and was married to Frederick on November 9, 1225. Frederick was not pleased to be married to a fifteen-year-old, and reportedly was more interested in a member of her suite. Frederick performed his conjugal duties, resulting in a pregnancy, and then refused to cohabit with Isabella. Frederick called for a diet of the empire in Cremona (northern Italy) for Easter 1226. The purpose was to recruit imperial troops for the crusade. Some of the northern Italian towns refused to believe this, and thought that Frederick was trying to impose close rule on them as part of the Empire. Frederick would eventually try to do this, but his current purpose was to get the crusade off the ground. The Pope aided Frederick by excommunicating some of the opposition leaders, and agreeing to another postponement of the crusade until 1227. In March 1227, Pope Honorius III died. The agreement to start the crusade in 1227 was still in place.

So far in his life, Frederick had dealt with two popes. Innocent III had been his guardian, and aided Frederick in becoming both King of Sicily and Holy Roman Emperor. It is possible, but not verified, that Pope Honorius III had been a tutor of Frederick in Frederick's youth. Honorius and Frederick had a long relationship as Pope and Emperor, and always came to agreement eventually. That would not be the case with the next pope. Cardinal Ugo of Ostia was elected Pope on March 19, 1227. Ugo, who took the name Gregory IX, had been in the Curia since 1206. He was a supporter of the new Dominican and Franciscan orders of friars, as was Frederick. Pope Gregory insisted that the crusade be launched as agreed, in September 1227.

Frederick had been making preparations for the crusade on two fronts, military and diplomatic. Money had been raised in the Kingdom of Sicily for the crusade. Ships were hired to take the troops from their gathering points in Apulia and Sicily. Knights and their support troops made their way from Germany and northern Italy to these camps. One contingent from Germany was led by the Landgrave of Thuringia, an old supporter of Frederick. Frederick had been gathering information about the Latin States and their neighbors for years. One source was

his father-in-law, John of Brienne. John was now an opponent of Frederick, resenting Frederick's treatment of his daughter and assumption of the title King of Jerusalem. Another source was Hermann von Salza. Hermann was Master of the Teutonic Knights. Hermann had spent several years in Palestine administering properties of the Teutonic Knights there, and was familiar with both the Christian and Muslim political situation there. Hermann was one of Frederick's closest aides, and often used by Frederick in negotiations. Hermann was also close to the new Pope.

Unlike prior crusaders, Frederick had established diplomatic relations with a ruler in the Holy Land. The Muslim-held lands between Syria and Egypt were held by nephews of Saladin at this time. Egypt and part of Palestine was held by al-Kamil, Syria and the rest of Palestine was held by his brother and enemy, al-Malik. Frederick made contact with both al-Kamil and al-Malik. Frederick's proposals to al-Malik were rejected, and Frederick was told that al-Malik would resist any attacks. Al-Kamil sent an ambassador to Frederick in 1226, Emir Fakhr ad-Din. These meetings went so well that Frederick sent his own ambassadors to al-Kamil in early 1227. Frederick wished to secure Jerusalem. Al-Kamil said he would support Frederick's effort to take the city from al-Malik, who held current possession. They agreed that Frederick would attack al-Malik and be rewarded with a reconstituted Kingdom of Jerusalem.

This is the situation in late summer of 1227. The crusaders were gathered in Apulia for their departure, which was to be from the port of Brindisi in September. The inevitable result of crowded camps in summertime southern Italy was disease. A virulent infection, probably typhoid or cholera, spread among the crusaders. Frederick knew this was a major complication, but felt he had to proceed. The fleet sailed by the end of September. Soon after departure, the disease struck on Frederick's ship. He and the Landgrave of Thuringia were both ill. The Landgrave died, and Frederick was seriously ill. Since he could not supply the leadership necessary while ill, he sent some ships ahead to Cyprus and Acre under Herman von Salza. Most of the fleet returned with Frederick to Otrano.

On his return, Frederick went for rest and recovery at the baths of Pozzuoli, and sent emissaries to Pope Gregory with his explanation. Gregory would not accept further delay, whatever the reason. He issued an encyclical letter with many grievances against Frederick. A subsequent letter listed more charges, and publicized Frederick's excommunication. As we have seen before with Otto IV and John of England, excommunication was an occupational hazard for medieval

Catholic rulers. Frederick responded to the excommunication by issuing a letter to all who had taken the cross with him. He explained what he had done, and promised to lead a new expedition the next year. He attacked the pope as a money-grubber who abandoned the ideals of the church. At Easter 1228, Pope Gregory preached a sermon against Frederick at St. Peter's, and the congregation rioted against Gregory. Gregory had to withdraw from Rome, taking up residence fifteen miles away in Viterbo.

Before Frederick left for the east, two major events affected his actions. Al-Malik died in early 1228. The reason for al-Kamil's alliance with Frederick now disappeared. Al-Kamil took over Jerusalem. Frederick decided to continue with the expedition. In April 1228, Isabella gave birth to a son, Conrad. She died soon afterward, which appeared to have no effect on Frederick. Isabella had been legitimate queen of Jerusalem, which could pass through the female line. Now, Conrad was the legitimate king of Jerusalem. Frederick took Conrad's place, calling himself King of Jerusalem. This weakened the position of John of Brienne, now that Frederick's position as father of Conrad was better than John's as father of the deceased Isabella. Even though Pope Gregory was preparing to launch a war on the Kingdom of Sicily, and sending a representative to stir up opposition to Frederick in the Empire, Frederick continued with the crusade. On his departure in June 1228, Frederick sent a missive to the pope, stating that he had now fulfilled his vow. Gregory rejected this and responded by saying Frederick's disgrace was now compounded. Frederick was an impenitent, excommunicated crusader, a contradiction in terms. The ground was now set for an attack by a pope on the domain of a king who was away on crusade.

Frederick's fleet left Brindisi on June 28, 1228. His force consisted of about 1500 knights supported by 10,000 infantry. Included in the infantry were some Muslim units Frederick formed after the establishment of Lucera. Frederick allowed these Muslims open practice of their religion, which displeased the accompanying Christian clergy. Frederick knew that even with the support he would gain from the military orders in the Holy Land, his force would not be large enough to accomplish its goals solely by military means. He continued to negotiate with al-Kamil, and he placed more faith in diplomacy than force.

The first stop for the fleet was Cyprus, which it reached on July 21, 1228. Frederick claimed overlordship of Cyprus, as Emperor. The current king was a minor. The real ruler of Cyprus was John of Ibelin, lord of Beirut, the richest noble in the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

Frederick summoned the leading members of the nobility resident in Cyprus to Limassol for a great banquet in preparation for departure to the Holy Land. During the banquet, Frederick had armed soldiers come in and stand behind each of the nobles. Frederick's attempt to intimidate the nobility of Cyprus failed. He did not secure the money and lands he wanted. John of Ibelin continued to act correctly as a subject of the emperor, later discouraging some knights who asked for his help in a plot to assassinate Frederick. John accompanied Frederick on his expedition to the Holy Land and rendered good service.

Frederick was not sure of the political situation in the Latin States. After a series of royal minorities in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, like the one in 1228 where Frederick was representing his one-year-old-son Conrad, the authority of the crown weakened to the benefit of the local barons. Frederick tried to get the princes of the neighboring Latin States of Antioch and Tripoli to submit to his rule. These princes refused. Most of the nobles in the Latin States of Jerusalem and Cyprus were willing to go along with Frederick on his crusade, but would not submit to his direct rule. The nobles knew that Frederick would soon have to return to Sicily. Frederick knew this as well, as Pope Gregory had started a military campaign against the Kingdom of Sicily soon after Frederick left on crusade.

On September 7, 1228, Frederick arrived at Acre in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. He was greeted with acclamation by the populace and, more importantly, by the Templars and Hospitallers. Even the patriarch of Jerusalem consulted with Frederick, while banning him from religious services as an excommunicate. This force in Palestine was meant to impress al-Kamil, but not to bring him to battle. After landing in Acre, Frederick sent an embassy to al-Kamil. The embassy reached al-Kamil while he was conducting a campaign against Damascus. Al-Kamil had deposed the young son of his brother and was trying to establish control in the territories al-Malik had held. Al-Kamil wanted Frederick gone from the Holy Land, but Frederick was there, with an army, and had to be dealt with.

While Frederick paraded his army down the coast from Acre to Jaffa, the negotiations continued. Neither leader wanted to fight. Frederick made the case that Jerusalem was less important than Damascus to al-Kamil. Frederick stressed that Jerusalem was a worn-out city that was more important to Christianity than Islam, and he proposed to keep it an open city. Frederick was in a great hurry to come to an agreement, and the final treaty was transmitted from al-Kamil to Frederick on February 11, 1229. The final treaty was accompanied by many gifts

for the emperor, such as jewels, camels, Arabian mares and an elephant.

The final agreement was a ten year truce. Jerusalem was turned over to the Kingdom of Jerusalem but to remain unfortified. The Temple Mount was to be excluded from Christian control, as it was home to two of the holiest places in Islam, the al-Aqsa mosque and the Dome of the Rock. Hebron and other areas in the vicinity of Jerusalem were to remain in Muslim hands. There would be a narrow corridor between Jerusalem and the sea that would be in Christian hands. Bethlehem and Nazareth were handed over to the Kingdom of Jerusalem, with appropriate corridors to connect them with the rest of the Kingdom. The most important shrines of Christianity, the places of Annunciation, Nativity, and Crucifixion, were placed in Christian hands, along with the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

On the Christian side, all prior crusades, even though they included some diplomacy, had been military expeditions. All had resulted in some fighting. The current result was more to Frederick's taste. This expedition had been carried out in an organized, rather than emotional way. He felt that battles in the hinterlands of Syria, which was where al-Kamil's army was, would not serve the purpose of gaining Jerusalem, the object of the crusade. But the barons of the crusader states were furious that they had been left out of the negotiating process. And the patriarch of Jerusalem condemned the treaty as having no value, especially noting the article that left the holy places of Islam in Muslim control.

Muslim opponents of the treaty were vocal as well. Al-Kamil pointed out to them that Islamic law provided for a maximum truce with infidels of ten years, ten months, ten weeks and ten days. He intended to consolidate his power by then and recover the unfortified Jerusalem, which he said would be an easy fruit to pluck at the end of the truce. Al-Kamil's opponents said that he had given up, and that the treaty prohibited Muslim pilgrims from visiting Jerusalem. This belief, while false, stiffened the determination of the besieged occupants of Damascus for the short term.

On March 17, 1229, Frederick reached Jerusalem. The pilgrims who had accompanied the crusade followed him to the city, but many of the religious leaders did not, to avoid dealing with an excommunicate. The main focus of all the Christians was the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which had not been harmed during the Muslim occupation. Frederick was greeted by the Muslim governor. The next day, Frederick is reported to have asked the governor why there had been

no call of the muezzins for prayer. The governor said he had instructed the cancellation of this call, out of respect for the change of power. Frederick replied, “My chief aim in passing the night in Jerusalem was to hear the call to prayer given by the muezzins, and their cries of praise to God during the night.” This story was reported by Muslim writers, who could not understand Frederick’s interest in their religion and seeming lack of interest in his own.

On his second day in Jerusalem, Frederick attended mass in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. During the mass, he wore the crown as King of Jerusalem. After the service, a speech was delivered on his behalf, in German, to the congregation, which consisted mostly of German knights. Frederick reviewed his actions since taking the cross in Aachen in 1215, to the successful conclusion the previous day. He was aware of the opposition of the pope and church authorities. He pleaded for reconciliation, claiming he was subordinate to God and wished to deal with Gregory IX on that basis.

Frederick was different from most prior crusaders the Muslims had dealt with. He was genuinely interested in Muslim architecture, philosophy, science and belief. Frederick had discussions with Islamic leaders, who recorded their impressions of him. They spread stories that Frederick was not much of a Christian because of his sincere interest in Islam—stories that were picked up by Christian churchmen and later used by the Curia against Frederick. Frederick felt that he was a loyal Christian, but his attitude toward the papacy and church leaders led to his being demonized by the bureaucracy of the church.

Frederick remained in Jerusalem over a month. This trip was his major exposure to the mixture of cultures in the Holy Land, and it had a substantial effect on him. He studied the structure of the Dome of the Rock, and it inspired one palace he built later. Frederick’s interest in falconry was well known, and al-Kamil gave him gifts of several falcons and the services of Arab falconers. Arabic falconers used hoods to control the falcons, which was unknown in Europe. Frederick introduced this practice in Europe, and discussed this change in his book on falconry. Prior Norman rulers of Sicily had harems in their palace, which was where the harem remained at all times. Rulers in the Arab world brought their harems with them on their travels. Frederick adopted this practice on his return to Europe.

Frederick had to deal with the reactions of the Europeans in the crusader states. The patriarch of Jerusalem laid an interdict on his own city because of Frederick’s presence at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and his negotiating with Muslims. This meant no church

services could be held in Jerusalem, to the dismay of the pilgrims. There was the matter of lands now secured from the Muslims. Much of this land had previously been in the hands of the church, but Frederick awarded the land to nobles of proven loyalty, mostly German knights. The church protested this action, but Frederick dismissed the protest. The normal disputes between nobles in the Kingdom of Jerusalem were being referred to Frederick, who tried not to get caught up in them. No matter which way he acted, someone with local power would be dissatisfied.

After Easter, Frederick was ready to leave. The papal expedition against the Kingdom of Sicily had been proceeding, and the pope had spread the word that Frederick had died in the Holy Land. Frederick felt he had fulfilled his vows and was eager to return home. He left Jerusalem and headed to Acre, where there was street fighting between the factions that supported and opposed him. Frederick surrounded the town with his troops and pacified the conflict. When he tried to slip out of town early on May 1, 1229, he was spotted as he walked to his ship docked at a pier in the butcher's quarter. The butchers of Acre displayed their displeasure with him by pelting his party with offal. John of Ibelin had followed Frederick to see him off, and he was able to disperse the mob. Frederick returned to Cyprus, where enemies of John of Ibelin had taken control. Frederick confirmed them in power, and forbade John from returning to Cyprus. Frederick secured funds to cover some of his crusading expenses. He left for home, arriving at Brindisi on June 10, 1229. He had been gone from the Kingdom of Sicily for less than a year.

Frederick's crusade was a failure in his dealings with the resident nobility of both Cyprus and the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The agents he left behind in the kingdom were caught up in the disputes of the nobles for the entire ten years of the truce, and were unable to accomplish any strengthening of the kingdom. John of Ibelin returned to Cyprus soon after Frederick's departure. John reinstated the underage ruler, Henry Lusignan. Even though the rulers of Cyprus continued to acknowledge Frederick as overlord, Frederick and his successors had no influence in Cyprus. The Lusignan family ruled Cyprus until the 15th century.

Frederick's successes on crusade were unique in the context of other crusades. There was very little bloodshed. The negotiations with al-Kamil resulted in a restored Christian Kingdom of Jerusalem. The truce between the Kingdom of Jerusalem and al-Kamil held for the term agreed on in the treaty. Hence, the avowed goal of the crusade was met.

Frederick returned to a kingdom in disorder. Pope Gregory IX had taken advantage of the emperor's absence to try to destroy his power using an intense propaganda campaign against Frederick, and by freeing Frederick's subjects from their oath of allegiance to him. This attracted some interest in Lombardy, virtually none in Germany, and very little in the Kingdom of Sicily. Gregory had demanded tithes from the church in England, France and Scandinavia to fund what he considered a just war against Frederick. Gregory would not proclaim a crusade against Frederick. As we have seen, Pope Innocent III proclaimed a crusade against heretical Christians in southern France earlier this century. But Gregory had John of Brienne to lead the mercenary troops hired by the papacy against the Kingdom. Papal troops had scored successes against Frederick's military commander, Rainald of Spoleto. In early 1229, a papal army scored a success against a Sicilian army. John of Brienne led the papal army into Apulia, where the pope had promised John substantial lands.

As in Germany in 1212, and in the Kingdom of Sicily in 1220, Frederick's presence had a profound impact on this conflict. After he landed in Brindisi, he issued an appeal to the people of the kingdom to join him in expelling the invader. Many of the crusaders who were on their way back home were persuaded to aid him. Frederick led his forces to the northern border of the kingdom, where Capua was under siege. The papal forces mostly dissolved. Many of these troops had believed the pope when he claimed Frederick was dead. Frederick tried to capture the forces of John of Brienne, but John retreated to papal territories before Frederick could catch him. Frederick stopped his troops at the border of the Papal States. Frederick's fondest wish now was to make peace with the pope. He chose to do this through diplomacy, sending his trusted aide Hermann von Salza to negotiate. Terms were agreed on by July 1230. This was the beginning of another chapter in the relationship between the Papacy and the Emperor, which will be covered later.

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13

1233—Mongol Conquests in Iran and China

The son and heir of Mohammed, Shah of Khwaresm, escaped from Genghis Khan at the end of the campaign that destroyed the Khwaresmian Empire in 1222. Jelal ad-Din fled from the Mongols, crossing the Indus and going east across the Punjab. Jelal eventually made his way to near Delhi, where he was intercepted by agents of the ruler of north India, Iltutmish. Iltutmish was the second ruler of the "Slave" dynasty, Muslim rulers who had originally been slaves of the prior Turkish rulers of north India. Iltutmish was respectful of Jelal's youth and charisma, and told Jelal that the climate of Delhi (Iltutmish's capital) would not be good for him. Jelal negotiated with Iltutmish and secured many gifts as a price of his withdrawal. Iltutmish was also fearful that the Mongols would follow Jelal into north India, but as we have seen, the Mongols returned to Mongolia after their destruction of the Khwaresmian Empire. Jelal was drawn back into the power vacuum created by the Mongol withdrawal.

Jelal returned to Afghanistan and Iran in 1224. His brother Ghiath had also escaped Mongol forces. Ghiath had established loose rule in central Iran. Jelal moved against Ghiath and captured him. Jelal spent the next three years campaigning in the western and northwestern parts of his domain. He started to attack the Baghdad-based Abbasid caliph, and negotiated a settlement allowing the caliph to continue in office. Jelal promised that all mosques in his domain would pray for the health of the caliph. Jelal went north into Azerbaijan and Georgia, campaigning there in 1226. By 1230, Jelal ad-Din had reconstituted some of his father's empire. This state was concentrated in what is now western Iran north to Azerbaijan. Jelal was not popular in this area, as he had imposed harsh military rule and crushing taxes.

At the quriltai in Mongolia in 1229, Ogedai Khan determined to oust Jelal from Iran. He sent an army of three toumans under the command of an up and coming general, Chormaghun Noyan, to put an end to this state. The Mongol army moved at its customary great speed, crossing the Oxus in late summer 1230 and making its way to Azerbaijan by early winter. Jelal fled north and west, concluding treaties with the Muslim powers to the west in Syria and eastern

Turkey. However, the more he fled from the Mongols, the more his army fell away. Exactly how Jelal died is not certain, but he was probably killed by Kurds while fleeing across the mountains of what is now northern Iraq. His state had been thoroughly destroyed by the Mongols.

By 1233, what is now Iran and Azerbaijan had been under Mongol rule for a couple of years. In eastern Iran, the governor was Chin Temur, a subordinate in Chormaghun's army. Chin Temur was from Kara Khitai, and remained governor until his death in 1235. In western Iran and Azerbaijan, Chormaghun Noyan became governor in 1230. He extended his realm through the area. This was a slow process, due to the difficult terrain. In 1233, Chormaghun campaigned against the neighboring area of Diyar Bakr, a mountainous region of what is now northern Iraq between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. He left this region devastated. Later he turned to the mountainous terrain of the Caucasus. Chormaghun granted freedom of worship to both Christian and Muslims in his territories. Mongol governors continued to rule this area until the change caused by creation of new Mongol realms in the 1250s.

The main thrust of Mongol expansion after the death of Genghis Khan was southward, into north China. The Mongols had already conquered China and Manchuria north of the Yellow River. The Kin state was now compressed to the area east of Tibet, between the Yellow and Yangtze Rivers, to the Pacific. This was a substantial state, and the population well outnumbered the Mongols, including the peoples they ruled north of the Yellow River. Korea received the attentions of the Mongols as well. Korea had first been attacked in 1218, by troops left in China by Genghis. These troops had entered Korea in pursuit of Kin forces. The Mongols dealt with the Kin troops in Korea, and forced the Korean state to pay tribute to them. The tribute continued until 1223, when Mukali left the area and the Koreans stopped paying tribute. A Mongol ambassador sent in 1225 to re-impose the tribute was murdered. Hence, when the Mongols determined to deal with the Kin, they would also deal with the Koreans.

On his deathbed, Genghis told his son Tului his plan for the destruction of the Kin. As a loyal son, Ogedei Khan determined to put this plan into practice. At the quriltai of 1229, Ogedei ordered the campaign to start next year. The highest rank created by Genghis was "orlok," which literally means eagle. Realistically, the orloks were field marshals, commanders of multiple toumans. By 1229, all the original companions Genghis had designated as orloks (Jebei, Bogorchu, Jelme, Mukhali) had died, except one. Subodei remained,

fifty-four years old in 1229. Even though Subodei was not born a Mongol, he had been serving the Mongols for so long that he had totally adopted their ways. Subodei had no interest in governing an empire, only in conquering one. Genghis had made it clear to Ogedei that Subodei was the best commander the Mongols had. Ogedei confirmed this by giving Subodei a royal princess as a bride, and giving Subodei overall command of the invasion of the Kin state. When the Mongols marched against the Kin, each wing was under nominal command of Ogedei or Tului, sons of Genghis. The real commander of the main attack was Subodei, and Subodei selected the subordinate commanders of the other wing, so there were minimal mistakes.

The Kin moved their capital after the destruction of Beijing. Their new capital was Kaifeng, on the Yellow River. Kaifeng was a very strong fortress, with the Yellow River on one side, and a range of mountains to the west. Kaifeng had forty miles of surrounding walls and contained over a million people in various towns within these walls. The Kin maintained an army much larger than the Mongol forces that were going to attack. The Kin had learned from prior conflicts with the Mongols to avoid battles in open terrain, where no one had a chance against the Mongol cavalry. The Kin stayed on the defensive, putting their trust in walls, fortresses and numbers.

Subodei and the Mongols had learned from prior campaigns against the Kin as well. He knew attacks by cavalry against flooded areas, walls, and deep rivers were very difficult. The Kin needed to be drawn out of their fortresses for the Mongol cavalry to operate. The Mongols had assembled a sufficient siege corps to handle the smaller fortresses that would be encountered on the march to Kaifeng. But when it came time for the decisive battle, it needed to be fought away from a great fortress. Genghis' strategy embraced these facts, and as put into practice by his best marshal would pose a substantial problem for the Kin. As always with Genghis and Subodei, diplomacy and ruse played a part in this campaign.

Subodei led the main Mongol force of about 80,000, under the nominal command of Ogedei, from Beijing heading south in early 1230. The Mongols tried to take several fortresses along the Yellow River, putting them under siege. The Kin dispatched troops to these fortresses. For most of 1230, the Mongols ravaged the area north of the Yellow River to supply their troops, and kept the pressure on the Kin. Several battles were fought, and the results were pretty even, each side winning and losing some. The line of the Yellow River was maintained by the Kin. The Mongols sent an ambassador to the Sung

state, which was confined to China south of the Yangtze in early 1230. The first ambassador was killed, so the Mongols sent a second ambassador. This mission secured permission for the Mongols to march through Sung territory and outflank the Kin.

After the normal fattening of horses in Mongolia during spring 1231, a new force set out for Kin territory. This was three toumans, under nominal command of Tului and real command of three younger, experienced generals chosen by Subodei. This force crossed the Gobi Desert, then the Yellow River well west of the northward turn of the river. It marched through Hsi-Hsia, and crossed the Wei River to enter Sung territory. The Sung stood aside as this army went through mountainous Szechwan province. This vast flanking movement took nine months. In January 1232, Tului's force emerged from the mountains of what is now west-central China to the plains south of Kaifeng. The Kin had no intelligence warning of this movement. When another army of Mongols suddenly appeared south of their capital, their opinion of the size of Tului's army was exaggerated. The Kin moved most of the army stationed in the fortresses along the Yellow River to meet the new threat south of Kaifeng. Subodei prepared an attack against the reduced Kin army.

Before leaving on his march, Tului had asked Subodei for advice on fighting the Kin army. Subodei said, "They are town-bred people, so they cannot endure fatigue. Harry them enough and you will find it easy to overcome them in battle" (Gabriel, p. 63). As the Kin army arrived piecemeal on Tului's front, Tului took Subodei's advice. Small raids were launched against Kin positions. The Mongols looked weak, after their long march. The Kin generals ordered a large-scale attack against what they considered a weakened foe. The Mongols retreated slowly into the mountains they had crossed. It was late winter, and the weather took a larger toll on the Kin than the Mongols. The Mongols attacked small Kin forces whenever they could. The Kin generals thought the main Mongol force was now tied up in the mountains. They were wrong.

Subodei had been maneuvering along the Yellow River at this time. When the Kin forces left to deal with Tului, Subodei crossed the Yellow River in force west of Kaifeng. The Kin were now caught out in the open between two Mongol armies. One way they tried to deal with this was to break the dikes on the Yellow River and flood the ground. Subodei had seen this before, and anticipated this action. Mongol contingents were stationed at the dikes, and any attempts on the dikes were repulsed. In late spring 1232, the Mongols attacked the Kin from two directions on the plain south of Kaifeng. As this was open

country, the Kin army, which was mostly infantry, had no chance. The Kin army was defeated and dispersed. By early summer 1232, Kaifeng alone remained in Kin hands. The Mongols instituted a full-scale siege of Kaifeng.

The Mongols had improved enough in siegecraft that they now could conduct a siege of a city containing more than a million. Siege equipment and the men to operate it, all Chinese in origin, were brought to Kaifeng. Catapults kept up a continual barrage of firepots to set fire to the city. The defender returned the fire, and used ho pao weapons as well. This is an early use of gunpowder in warfare. The ho pao seems to have been a long bamboo tube thrust out from holes in the defensive wall, its end coming to rest near Mongol positions or siege machines. The tube would be set alight, and exploded leaving a black and smoking crater in the earth. The siege proceeded very slowly. In summer 1232, Ogedai and Tului returned to Mongolia, leaving Subodei in charge. Subodei opened negotiations with the Sung, who were happy to aid in the destruction of the Kin. The Sung sent 20,000 troops and some siege equipment to help take Kaifeng.

While the siege continued, a drama in the royal family played out in Mongolia. On his return, Ogedai became seriously ill. Whether this was illness or overindulgence in alcohol is not known. After the descendants of Tului became Great Khans, the story was told that Tului learned that the main Mongol god, Tengri (Eternal Heaven), was demanding a member of this family to die, and that Tului volunteered to be the sacrifice. By whatever process, the result was that Ogedai survived, and on October 9, 1232, Tului died. Soon after Tului's death, Ogedai tried to arrange the marriage of his son Guyuk to Tului's widow Sorkhokhtani. Sorkhokhtani declined, wishing to protect her four sons by Tului. This declination turned out to be very important in determining the successors to Ogedai.

The following spring, Ogedai returned to the siege of Kaifeng. There had been attempts on the walls by the Mongols, which had been defeated by the Kin. Starvation took a terrible toll on the occupants of Kaifeng. The inhabitants of Kaifeng were reduced to eating first horseflesh, then leather, bones and drumskins. Eventually they killed their Mongol prisoners to eat their flesh. After that a plague broke out. Subodei had seen the problems encountered by a stationary army before. He had monitored the state of the city, and withdrew from the vicinity of the city while the plague was raging. This plague killed half the remaining population of the city. After the plague died out, the Mongol army resumed its positions outside the walls of Kaifeng. By this time, Ogedai had returned. The Mongols were now ready to

culminate the siege. Preparations for final attacks were in place when the gates of the city opened. The Kin surrendered.

At this point, two decisions had to be made, and could only be made by the Great Khan. First, what to do with Kaifeng and the surrounding area. After the surrender of Kaifeng, Ogedai held a conference with his two most important advisors. One was Subodei, his leading military leader. The other advisor was Yeliu ch'u ts'ai, his leading civilian advisor. Subodei, following the Mongol tradition and what he had seen in military career, advised that Kaifeng be turned over to the troops for plunder, all the populace killed, and the whole area around Kaifeng be turned into pasture for Mongol horses. Yeliu, the Khitan servant of the Kin then of the Mongols, advised that the destruction of all this valuable land and valuable craftsmen would be a disaster of the first order. He painted the picture of the wealth this land and people could create. He advised Ogedai to let the Chinese people in this area get back to their livelihoods, and then tax them accordingly. Both Subodei and Yeliu agreed that the Kin rulers should be eliminated. Ogedai ordered the elimination of the Kin nobility, and sided with Yeliu on the fate of Kaifeng and the surrounding area.

Later in 1233, the second question regarding the Sung arose. The Mongols had promised the Sung certain territories between Kaifeng and the sea, north of the Yangtze. The Mongols were dilatory in turning the territories over to the Sung. The Sung emperor ordered his troops still in the Kaifeng area to seize Kaifeng. These troops tried, but were overwhelmed by the Mongols. This futile attempt provided Ogedai with a perfect pretext to invade Sung territory. After considering this with his advisors, Ogedai put off a decision. He would summon a new quriltai in a couple of years, which would consider the next steps in the expansion of Mongol power.

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14

1237—Trade Between China, India and Intermediate Areas

The state with the largest population in the world in 1237 was Sung China. Even though Sung China was now reduced to the area south of the Yangtze, it was still the largest and most technologically advanced realm in the world. When an economic area has goods that are desired in other economic areas, those goods will be traded. Even though Confucian philosophy valued scholars more than merchants, Chinese merchants had traded with willing foreign partners since the start of Chinese civilization. When China emerged, the locus of Chinese civilization was on the Yellow River. Trade was conducted across the steppe. Roads leading west from China were named after the most profitable Chinese product, silk. These silk roads operated across central Asia after around 200 bce whenever political and military conditions in central Asia allowed. At various times, there was too much turmoil for merchants to make the large investment in caravans. During those times, the trade stopped, because an alternative route had not yet developed.

The center of population in China gradually moved south. By the time the Sung dynasty took over in the early 900s, the majority of people in China lived south of the Yellow River. The coastal areas of southeast and south China were now populated with Chinese. The sea trade along these coasts developed. It is still a truism that bulk trade is cheapest when the main form of transport is by water. It was even more evident in the 13th century, because of the slow speed of land transportation. This increase in coastal trade led to advances in ship design in China. By the 13th century, the junks manufactured along the southeastern and southern coasts of China were the largest and best cargo ships in the world. For the past century these junks had been engaged in trade with areas south and east, such as Indonesia, southeast Asia, and India.

This trade was possible because of the consistent wind pattern in the South China Sea and Indian Ocean. This monsoon pattern, combined with the subtropical and tropical climates, made regular voyages in this trade area both possible and predictable. Over time, merchants

and agents in the areas from south India to southeast China learned from their ship captains how to schedule voyages to take advantage of the monsoons. In China, the ships would leave in January and February, taking advantage of the monsoon wind coming off the Chinese land mass, making the voyage to either south-east Asian ports or the Strait of Malacca predictable. If the Chinese vessel needed to go west of the Strait of Malacca, it would wait until the wind changed in June or July, which made a trip along the coast to Burma or India easier. The opposite time frame would occur from India, vessels leaving in June or July. Even though the Chinese junks had compasses, watertight compartments, and excellent sails and rigging, the most common routes through the South China Sea and Indian Oceans hugged the shorelines. There were many ports along these routes, which will be discussed below. As we will see in a later chapter, the same kind of pattern existed in the Indian Ocean west of the Indian subcontinent, driving the trade between the Middle East and India. In the 13th century, the largest oceanic trade in the world took place in the Indian Ocean and smaller adjacent bodies of water (Red Sea, Persian Gulf, South China Sea).

In the shrinking Sung China domain, the conflict with the Mongols caused an increase in trade south and east. The normal northern trade would have to go through Mongol territory. While this trade would recover after the end of the Mongol conquest of China, during the conflict the trade across the steppe did not include Chinese products from the Sung domains. As we saw above, after the defeat of the Kin in 1233, the Sung and the Mongols were at peace. The Mongols awarded some territory north of the Yangtze to the Sung, and withdrew back to Mongolia for the quriltai in 1235. By 1235, the Sung had taken some Mongol held territory around Kaifeng and Loyang. The Mongols decided to punish the Sung, and by 1237 had driven the Sung away from Kaifeng and Loyang. This was the start of the conquest of the Sung realm, which would not be completed until much later this century. This conflict caused external trade of Sung China to go south via the sea route, as the Mongols closed off the land route west for Chinese merchants.

When the land route was operating, the main export of China was silk. Silk was an ideal product to be carried via caravan, as it was low in weight and high in price. When the trade shifted to the sea route, silk was still part of the Chinese exports, but it was not the largest component. The reason for this was ballast. As was true when China was “opened” to the West in the 1800s, the products exported from China fetched higher prices than the products imported to China. The products imported to China were bulkier than the products exported,

causing the ships to be less full on outbound voyages from China. The solution discovered during Sung times was to export the product which is now known in the West as china, porcelain. Archaeological finds from this period in areas from Indonesia to east Africa often include porcelain from Sung China. Porcelain is much heavier than silk, and could be used as profitable ballast on outbound voyages. China was ahead of the rest of the world in production of paper, iron, and gunpowder. These products were included in Chinese exports.

What did China receive as imports? This varied according to where the ships docked. In the East Indies, the main trade goods were spices. Spices came from the Spice Islands, which were in the eastern part of the Indonesian archipelago. The main market for these spices varied over time. Chinese chronicles mention an “empire” called Srivijaya, starting around 910. By 1237, Srivijaya was still present in Sung records, but now paying tribute to the Sung. There are no independent records of the Srivijaya state, which appears to have been based in southern Sumatra. The main town in 1237 was Palembang, a port about 10 miles inland in southern Sumatra. The Chinese records show several ships leaving Chinese ports for Palembang per year. During the previous hundred years, there had been other ports in the area of the Strait of Malacca that appeared on Chinese registers. Some were on Sumatra, some were on the Malay coast. These cities, of which Palembang was the most prominent, were transit points. Ships came from China, the East Indies, Burma, and India to trade. One of the experts in this area calls Palembang a comprador state (Abu-Lughod, p. 285). The locus of this activity in the Strait of Malacca changed many times from 1237 to today. Now the main market in the area is Singapore, which was not founded until the 1830s. Palembang, Malacca, Jambi, and other cities in this area served this function earlier.

What the comprador state lacked that both Chinese and Indian ports had was an agrarian hinterland. The ports in Sumatra and Malaysia were located amid tropical rain forests, which had not yet been turned into farmland. Raw materials such as lumber and tin were available in the rain forests, but these towns were dependent on local or foreign sea trade for their food. The food was mostly supplied by local coastal trade from nearby agrarian areas. The main cereal in the local diet, rice, came from agricultural areas located in the Khmer kingdom (Cambodia), the Champa realm (southern Vietnam) or the Pagan kingdom (Burma). The more valuable products from China and India were brought to this area, and the products were either exchanged in markets in the comprador state, or carried on to the other end of the exchange in China or India.

The center of trade in the Indian Ocean was the Indian subcontinent. It was unusual, but not impossible for a ship to go all the way from one end of this trade area to the other. The voyage from the Middle East to China could be done, but would take about two years with the available ships. It was much more common for products to be exchanged at the meeting points of this system. One area of meeting points was near the Strait of Malacca, as discussed above. Other meeting points were in south India. There were annual voyages from the Middle East to the ports of west India. There were annual voyages from the Strait of Malacca to the ports of southeast India.

There had been trade between ports on the east coast of India and southeast Asia since the first millennium bce. It is possible that there was migration from Indonesia to the Coromandel coast of south India, and it has been verified that the inhabitants of Madagascar originated in Indonesia, arriving in Madagascar around the first century bce. Indian culture and religion spread eastward on the same route. As discussed in the 1225 chapter, the religion of the elite in southeast Asia was a local version of Hinduism. The religion of the common people in southeast Asia was Buddhism, adapted to local practices. This was true in Indonesia as well in 1237. In Indonesia, Hinduism and Buddhism did not last much longer as dominant religions (except for Bali). By 1400, Islam spread throughout Indonesia, with the result that Indonesia currently contains more Muslims than any country except India.

The main political state in south India in 1237 was ruled by the Chola. The Chola ruled the southeast ports and a substantial hinterland. Indian merchants from the Coromandel coast had been traveling eastward since the tenth century. There is evidence of diplomatic contacts between the Chola rulers of south India and the Srivijaya in the 11th century, as well as a naval attack by Chola on ports in Sumatra in 1025. Records in 12th century China show trade with India, conducted through Srivijaya. Products of India the Chinese wanted included pearls, coral, betelnuts and cotton products. The Indian end of the business was handled by Tamil merchants. These merchants were based in either Ceylon or ports along the Coromandel coast. There was trade between the merchants based on the east coast of India with merchants based on the west coast of India. This was the way station for products from the Middle East heading east, and products from China heading west. The merchants based on the west coast of India were mostly Muslims. Even though the land distance separating ports on the southeast and southwest coasts of India is less than 200 miles, the difficult terrain made sea transport much easier. There was a substantial coastal trade between ports on the southeast

coast (Tanjore, Kanchipuram, Nellore) and ports on the southwest coast (Quilon, Cochin, Calicut). Their rule did not include the southwest ports, which were independent. The Chola were in decline by 1237, having reached their peak in the 12th century. The Chola organized their state in the 12th century to extract their agricultural surplus for military purposes. Military expenses declined in the early 13th century, leaving the agricultural surplus available to trade. Within the Chola state, there was a center of textile production equal to any other in the world. This center was in Kanchipuram, and the product was cotton.

Cotton was a major crop in the agricultural hinterland of southeast India. The exact process of production has not been totally verified. But current suggestions of the methods used are parallel to the methods being used concurrently in northwest Europe in the production of wool cloth. Wealthy merchants controlled the supply of cotton by buying raw cotton, then sending it out for various processes to turn the raw cotton into a cloth product. This involved spinners and weavers, who appear to have worked out of their homes on a piecework basis. The finished product was returned to the merchant, who sold it locally and internationally. The merchants in these cities in southeast India became rich and powerful enough to take part in the development of new centers of political authority needed during the decline of the Chola state. As the Chola state disappeared in 1279, this process had started by 1237, and the cotton merchants were gaining power.

In 1237, international traders were making regular calls at ports on the Coromandel coast. These traders would mostly be from southwest Indian ports, and from Srivijaya. Ships from China and the Middle East would be in a small minority, using the southwest Indian ports and Srivijaya as way stations. The merchants on the Coromandel coast had local contacts to supply them with pearls, betelnuts, spices, and cotton products that were desired abroad. In the 12th century, the Chola rulers were deriving considerable tax revenues from this trade. As the Chola rulers lost power, the income was kept by these merchants. Due to the increased income being generated in these cities, the population of southeast India cities was growing. But the carrying trade was not conducted by Indians. The ships came from other places, securing Indian products. The Indians produced more value in products than they bought from their trading partners. In the words of one scholar, “India was self-sufficient in or indifferent to many of the heavily-traded commodities on the medieval world market” (Richards qtd. in Abu-Luhgod, p. 285). India was a participant in, but not an active driver, of the ocean trade in the

Indian Ocean. We will discuss the trade on the west side of the Indian subcontinent in a later chapter.

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15

1240—Mesoamerica

Mesoamerica was one of the cradles of civilization in the Western Hemisphere. Mesoamerica consisted of the current state of Mexico, as well as most of Guatemala and Belize. Several notable cultures thrived in Mesoamerica before 1240. The earliest was the Olmec, starting around 1500 bce, based on the Mexican Gulf coast. Olmec culture lasted until about 400 bce. Zapotec culture arose in the Oaxaca valley around the time the Olmec declined, and was dominant until about 750. The polity based in Teotihuacan (30 miles northwest of Mexico City) formed around 150 bce and also lasted to around 750. Maya civilization came to prominence around 250, and lasted until Spanish conquest. Mayan culture, which still survives, is based in the Yucatan Peninsula south through Belize and Guatemala. After the decline of Teotihuacan, a new major polity arose called the Toltec, based in an area about forty miles northeast of Teotihuacan. The dominant phase of the Toltec was from 900 to around 1150. None of these cultures were preeminent throughout Mesoamerica in 1240. Our approach will be to discuss what these cultures had in common, and the political status of Mesoamerica going from north to south in 1240.

The most important factor that all of Mesoamerica had in common was maize. Maize originated in central or southern Mexico before 1500 bce. The domestication of maize was the crucial step to allow people in Mesoamerica to become sedentary farmers. How maize was domesticated is still a matter of academic dispute. What is clear is that it happened, and changed the lives of the people who grew maize. Maize is the base cereal in Mesoamerica, counterpart to rice in parts of eastern Asia, wheat in western Asia, Europe and North Africa, and sorghum in the Sahel. Other foods were domesticated to supplement maize in Mesoamerica. These crops include squash, beans, and chilis. Archeological evidence shows a diet based on these plants and wild animals throughout Mesoamerica, with small regional differences. Maize had to be supplemented, because it is deficient in protein. No large animals that could be domesticated were native to Mesoamerica, so small animals such as turkey and waterfowl were the main sources of protein, along with beans and squash.

The importance of maize is reflected in the various religions of Mesoamerica. We will not cover all the various religions and gods in detail, as they are too many and varied. But all cultures in Mesoamerica had a maize god or goddess. The maize god was associted closely with the rain god. In Mayan religion, the maize god ruled over all vegetation. The maize god or goddess was represented in temple sculpture throughout Mesoamerica, in all cultures that had temples. Religion permeated the life of all of these cultures. Representations of gods were everywhere. These gods were sometimes human looking, sometimes based on animals. All could transform themselves. There is evidence that the religious leaders went through hallucinogenic experiences, using tobacco and other drugs indigenous to Mexico, to better communicate with the gods. In Mayan culture, there is the myth of the Hero Twins. Their most popular and widespread religious ceremony was a reenactment of this myth. It was a game.

When one looks through the literature on Mesoamerica, there are constant references to the “ball game.” There is no other name for it. The Olmecs are believed to be the inventors of the game, over 3,000 years ago. The Olmecs tapped a local tree to make the game ball. The tree was a rubber tree, and the ball created was about the size of a fist. The ball could bounce, and it was hard and solid enough to cause injuries. Starting from the Olmec base on the Gulf of Mexico, this game spread over Mesoamerica to where over 6,000 ball courts have been identified. The court has two parallel walls on the sides of the field. By 800, stone circles or hoops had been added, attached to the side walls at the center of the court. In 1240, all the courts had these hoops. There seems to have been a change in the rules over time. The size of the court varied, the smallest courts were for one or two players per side, the largest about the size of an American football field. The smaller courts seem to have been for practice, the largest for religious ceremonies based on the game. In the larger arenas, there were seats above the walls bordering the court.

When a game was played at a major center such as Chichen Itza or Teotihuacan, it was a major religious ceremony. The field was surrounded by sculptures of the gods. The players entered the ball court dressed in elaborate costumes. These costumes were discarded when the game started, but the players wore helmets of some kind, cotton pads over elbows and knees, and heavy belts and gloves. The ball was to be kept off the ground. Like in modern soccer, hands could not touch the ball. Points were scored by hitting markers on the wall of the court that were carved and decorated with human and animal images, or by putting the ball through the hoop attached to the wall

several feet above the floor of the court. The players who could put the ball through the hoop were the most honored. In the Maya and Aztec versions of the game, the first team to put the ball through the stone hoop won. The captain of the losing team was sacrificed to the gods.

When Europeans witnessed this game after encountering Aztecs, they recorded their impressions. The crowd at these games was similar to chunkey crowds at Cahokia and sports crowds today. Gambling was prevalent. One quotation will suffice: “They gambled their homes, their field, their corn granaries, their maguey plants. They sold their children in order to bet and even staked themselves and became slaves to be sacrificed later if they were not ransomed” (Duran, p. 318). This game, religion, and a diet based on maize (all with regional differences) are the commonalities of Mesoamerica in 1240. There was no one dominant state. The political status of Mesoamerica in 1240 from north to south is covered below.

The peoples of what is now northern Mexico and southern Texas had suffered from an extended drought prior to this time. These peoples were both farmers and hunter-gatherers. After 1000, the only people remaining in this area were hunter-gatherers, due to the climate. The rest had migrated south to Tula, the largest city of the Toltec polity. Tula was located about 40 miles north of present day Mexico City. Tula controlled an area in central Mexico that contained approximately 300,000 people. The Toltec state was founded around 900, and lasted to around 1200. The Toltec were able to absorb the northern immigrants, who brought along the bow and arrow, which had not been part of the Toltec sculptural record before then. The population of Tula was about 40,000 in the early 1100s. Tula had large temples, open plazas, ball courts, and palaces. The remains of decorative panels on the temples in Tula have sculptures that show symbolic representations of elite Toltec warriors engaging in human sacrifice. Tula’s non-elite lived in a densely packed residential area surrounding the temples and plazas. Tula was abandoned in either 1156 or 1168 (sources differ), and the central Toltec polity split into several city-states in the valley of Mexico. Tula and the Toltecs were considered the ancestors of the elite of later Aztec society. These Aztec leaders dug up sculptures and other items from Tula. These items were then exhibited, drawing attention to the Aztecs as worthy successors to the legendary Toltecs. But in 1240, there was no central Toltec authority, and the Aztecs would not rise until the 14th century. This time (1150–1350) is now categorized as the Fuego Phase of the Toltecs, after the fiery destruction of many of the Toltec buildings.

In 1240, the area south of Teotihuacan (later the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlan and now Mexico City) was relatively underpopulated. There were many small towns on the banks Lake Texcoco, but no main population center as Teotihuacan had been. A mixed population of Toltec and Chichimecs remained. The leaders of this population took their followers south after the abandonment of Tula. This group settled in Cholula, a town about 50 miles southeast of Teotihuacan, just outside the Valley of Mexico. The Toltec-Chicimecs seized power from the leaders who had allowed them to settle in Cholula a short time after they arrived. This alliance of Toltecs and Chichimecs was in power throughout the central Mexico, but in small polities based on various towns. There was no central authority, which remained the case until the rise of the Aztecs in the following century. Each of the separate city-states was ruled by a lord who had political control. There was a priesthood who communicated with the gods, and helped guide the policy of the leader. Later Spanish accounts state that entities subordinate to the Aztecs were locally ruled by two rulers: the tlatoani and the cihuacoatl, who represented the powers of heaven and earth, respectively. The local populace in central Mexico consisted of many ethnic groups, who the Spanish called Mexicas, the source for the name of Mexico.

The west coast of Mexico was occupied by another mixture of peoples. There had never been a central power in this area, and the political status quo continued in 1240. Many small polities remained in this region. One factor increased the importance of this area in the eyes of the rest of Mesoamerica around this time. Western Mesoamerica became important as the leading metalworking region, starting around 800. This area produced sumptuary gold and silver goods after 800. Bronze technology arrived around 1200. This resulted in the manufacture of axes, chisels, and other bronze goods. The technology of gold, silver, and bronze metalworking originated in Peru, and made its way up the coast. Archeological records show that these products were traded through Mesoamerica up to southern Texas and Arizona.

Another area of political fragmentation was the Oaxaca valley, located about 150 miles southeast of Mexico City. This inland area had been home to a sophisticated civilization based on Mount Alban, the capital and largest town of the Zapotecs. At its height around 700, Mount Alban had about 25,000 inhabitants, and ruled the entire Oaxaca valley. After 900, this central authority collapsed. Mount Alban continued to be occupied, but the population was much reduced. The Mixtec, whose home base was the mountainous area north of the Oaxaca valley, started to move into the valley and take over some of the towns. There are written records of the Mixtecs taking over the

towns of Cuilapan, Yanhuitlan, Tilantongo and Coixlahuaca. By 1240 there were at least fourteen different city-states in the Oaxaca valley. Some of the city-states were ruled by Zapotecs, some by Mixtecs.

The remaining area of Mesoamerica is the Maya region. Maya states had been in existence since around 250. The initial states were based in the south of the Yucatan. Ruins have been found from the Guatemalan highlands north to Belize then west to the center of the Yucatan Peninsula. By 1240, many of the impressive sites in the southern part of Mayan occupation had been abandoned. There seems to have been a decrease in precipitation in the southern Yucatan which led to the reduction of population in the south, and increase in the north. The southern portion of the Yucatan had been overpopulated, which led to deforestation and over-farming. These long term practices resulted in famine and conflict in the south. Most of the survivors moved to the north of the Yucatan. This depopulation of the southern Yucatan was general by 1240. An example of this is the site of Copan, in western Honduras. Archeology and interpretation of statuary at Copan shows the city starting around 400 from a virgin site. The population rose to around 27,000 by 750. Then deforestation and failures in agriculture led to about a 50 percent reduction in population by 950. By 1240, evidence of pollen from forest trees reappeared at this site, indicating a virtual absence of people.

In the northern Yucatan, the pattern of prior Mayan history continued. There were many small polities in northern Yucatan. These polities were either engaged in warfare, or temporary alliances. One of the puzzles of Mayan history of the 13th century is the existence of the League of Mayapan. Whether it even existed is disputed. There are written records, disputed by some scholars, that the three largest towns of northern Yucatan allied to control the area. These towns were Uxmal, Chichen Itza, and Mayapan. What is known is that by 1250, Chichen Itza had been abandoned due to defeat in war. Mayapan became the leading power in northern Yucatan, and remained so for two centuries. So, in 1240, the power of Mayapan was rising, and Chichen Itza, one of the most popular and magnificent sites of Mayan ruins, was fading.

The original archaeological interpretation of the Mayas as a peaceful culture living in the jungle removed from contact with others has been overturned. The Maya culture included many magnificent accomplishments in architecture, sculpture and mathematics. Sites in the Yucatan, Belize, and Guatemala show these accomplishments. But recent interpretations of Mayan manuscripts and statutuary have verified that the many city-states that existed throughout Mayan

history were in continual conflict. Captured soldiers, as well as losers in the ball game, were victims of human sacrifice.

The architecture of Chichen Itza and Mayapan show the influence of the Toltec. This is an example of the widespread trade between the many cultures of Mesoamerica. There was trade north to what is now Arizona and New Mexico, shown by the artifacts discovered in Chaco Canyon. This trade did not get much farther north or east into North America. In the mounds of the central U.S. that have been excavated, only one artifact of undisputed Mesoamerican origin had been found so far (at Spiro mound in Oklahoma). The most important export to North America was maize. Artifacts from all over Mexico show that there was an active trade within the entire orbit of Mesoamerica. The wide distribution of the ball game shows this as well.

An empire would arise in the late 15th century that would confront the Spanish with a unified polity. But in 1240, there were many small polities in Mesoamerica.

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16

1241—The Mongols in Europe

In 1235, Ogedai Khan called a quriltai in Mongolia. When these meetings had been called before, the site was chosen based on several factors such as tradition, available pastureland, and the preference of the leader. The 1235 quriltai was called to meet at a town. This town, Karakorum, had been built in the last few years. Ogedai's leading civilian advisor, Yeliu ch'u ts'ai, had been making the argument that a great empire needed a focus in the form of a capital. Yeliu made this argument to Genghis, who saw the point but was an old-line Mongol through and through. Old-line Mongols distrusted cities, avoided them if at all possible, and would not live in one. Genghis allowed construction to start during the last year of his life, but avoided Karakorum. Ogedai held prior meetings in other places, awaiting the completion of the construction project. Ogedai and subsequent Great Khans honored the inclination of Genghis by avoiding Karakorum. Karakorum became the residence and workplace of foreign, literate peoples who administered the Mongol empire. These peoples eventually included Uighers, Khitans, Persians and Chinese. When Mongols were in the area for business with the Great Khan, they put up their tents on the outskirts, and attended the Khan in his tent, which was also on the outskirts. The Great Khans did business in Karakorum, but never lived there. Karakorum was an example of an unsuccessful new capital, only serving its government purpose and never developing as a true city.

At the 1235 quriltai, various further conquests were discussed. The Mongol ethos as embodied by Genghis discouraged consolidation of acquisitions as not worthy. New conquests were the preferred policy. Yeliu ch'u ts'ai had gotten the Mongols to build a capital, and could persuade them to leave conquered subjects alive for further exploitation, but he could not persuade them to stop expanding the empire. Yeliu was excluded from the military councils which considered the new campaigns. One rejected option was the invasion of India. Another possibility was a new thrust through Iran to the Abbasid caliphate in what is now Iraq, and further east to Turkey and Palestine. That was rejected for the time being. The debate narrowed down to either going north of the Aral, Caspian, and Black Seas to

Europe, or going directly south into Sung China. Genghis Khan had always gathered his strength for one main campaign at a time. Many in the meeting argued that only one main effort should be made at this time. Subodei, the most honored and influential military man, felt differently. He thought the Mongols were militarily superior to both the Chinese and the Europeans. He thought the Mongols had enough troops to go both directions. Subodei's arguments carried the day. The Mongols would attack both China and Europe.

The campaign against China will be covered in a subsequent chapter. Subodei had campaigned in both places, and determined the numbers of troops needed for each campaign. By the time both armies would be fully engaged, the two armies would be separated by over seventy degrees of longitude. No reinforcements would go from one theatre to the other. The Mongol troops were divided so that each army contained a core of Mongols. But the days of the Mongol army consisting of mostly Mongol troops were long gone. Troops from all available steppe peoples were included in the armies. In the east that included Khitans, Jurchets, and other tribes from the Mongolian plateau. In the west, Turks, Persians, and other conquered peoples became troops in the Mongol army. The leadership of both armies remained strictly in Mongol hands.

The force that attacked the West was nominally commanded by Batu, the oldest son of Juchi, Genghis' oldest son. Subordinate commanders in this army included sons of each of Genghis' four sons by Borte, and sons from the next generation. The area north of the Aral, Caspian, and Black Seas had been allotted by Genghis to Juchi as his domain, and this claim devolved to Batu. The army totaled about 120,000 when it left Mongolia in the spring of 1236. Subodei was the principal advisor to Batu, and everyone knew Subodei would control the strategy of the advance west. Subodei had been gathering intelligence about this area since his raid in 1220–3. Subodei knew there were many different tribes along the steppe that needed to be neutralized before he went into Europe. He knew about the steppe north of the Black Sea from prior experience, and had heard about the plain of Hungary. Both these areas would serve as bases for further operations north to Russia and central Europe. Subodei was aware of the political divisions in Europe, and felt the Mongols could defeat any army raised there. Subodei estimated the whole expedition could take 15–18 years.

In the fall of 1236, the Mongols conquered the five-century-old khanate of Great Bulgary, based on the Volga well north of the Caspian Sea. For the next year, the Mongols spread out across the

steppe between the Volga and the Black Sea. All the tribes in this area were rendered harmless to the Mongols. Enough of them joined the Mongol forces to double the strength of the Mongol army. Most of these new troops were Turks, experienced in steppe warfare. There was a short transition period to Mongol service, but soon the Turks were up to speed as soldiers in the Mongol cavalry. Subodei knew the best route to Europe was on the steppe north of the Black Sea directly to Hungary. He was always a careful strategist, and wanted to cover his northern flank. That meant dealing with various Russian states, in terrain of vast woods that the Mongols were not used to crossing. Subodei had come up with a method of dealing with this terrain, and now put this method into practice.

Russia at this time was not a united polity. Many small and weak principalities existed, most based on a town where the prince lived. There was no central authority. The inhabitants limited their fighting to a short time in the summer, due to the terrain. Russia was notorious for “rasputitsa” (roadlessness). During the spring thaw and the fall freeze were travel was very difficult, and the aristocratic armies did not fight in winter. Subodei learned of these practices from his intelligence service. He determined that the Mongols could travel and fight in winter, along the frozen rivers. While the weather in a Russian winter can be very severe, it was not any worse than the Mongols had experienced in their homeland, or on other campaigns through high mountains.

In December 1237, the Mongol army crossed the Volga at the site of the capital of Great Bulgary that had been destroyed a year ago. Following frozen rivers heading west, the Mongols appeared before Riazan, capital of a small princedom southeast of Moscow (then a minor town), just before Christmas. After a five-day siege, the Mongols broke down the wooden palisade and entered the town. All people caught were killed. A chronicler reported that “no eyes remained open to weep for the dead.” The city leaders sent messengers to the leading prince in the area, Prince Yaroslav of Vladimir, but received no response. Destruction of other towns in the heart of Russia followed. In January Kolomna was sacked. In February Moscow, Susdal and Vladimir were sacked and burnt. In March, Yaroslavl and Tver suffered the same fate. All these towns were located on rivers, so they could be easily reached by the Mongols riding on frozen highways. The Mongols headed north to the largest, most prosperous city of north Russia, Novgorod. The spring thaw came during this march. Novgorod was saved by the weather, not through any efforts of its own. The consequences of this will be explored in the next chapter.

At the change in weather, Subodei ordered the Mongols to head south to the steppes of Ukraine. The spring and early summer of 1238 was spent replenishing supplies, integrating new troops into the army, and fattening the horses. The next two years were spent on the steppes of Ukraine and in the mountains of the Caucasus. The peoples of the Ukrainian steppe were subdued, and all peoples that remained there were either incorporated into the Mongol army or exterminated. One wing of the Mongol army went to the Crimea and made contact with Venetian traders there, gathering more intelligence on the political state of Europe. Another wing went into the mountains. The areas of the Caucasus that had not been conquered by the Mongols in Iran were now subdued by Subodei's forces, and forced to accept Mongol sovereignty.

In the fall of 1240, the Mongols turned their attention to the western part of the Ukrainian plain. Attacking from the south, the Mongols took the cities of Chernigov and Pereyaslav, destroying each. These were the largest fortresses east of Kiev. The resistance of all of the Russian cities mentioned was uncoordinated, small forces that were mincemeat for the Mongol military. By November, the Mongols reached the outskirts of Kiev. The Mongols were on the other side of the Dnieper River, so they waited for the river to freeze. In early December the Mongols crossed the frozen river and started their attack on Kiev, one of the few cities in Russia that had a stone instead of wooden wall. Prince Michael of Kiev escaped to Silesia and spread alarm to the West about the Mongol threat. The Mongols sent envoys to Kiev asking for surrender. The leadership in Kiev refused, and put the envoys to death. The inevitable result was the total destruction of Kiev. The Mongols were now competent at storming cities, and Kiev fell on December 6, 1240. The Mongols had now torn the heart out of old Russia. They had nothing to fear from their rear when the attack on Europe took place. The Mongols moved to the area near the present Polish-Belarus border to spend the winter. The prince of Galich fled to the West and added to the alarm. Conversations with Russians who had escaped confirmed the Mongol intention to secure the plain of Hungary next year.

Having fully subdued southeastern Europe, Subodei prepared to go into central and western Europe. His intelligence confirmed that there was no unity in these areas. Armies would confront the Mongols, but would consist of units from separate commands. There would be very little cooperation between the states of Europe to repel the Asiatic invader. Further south, the largest polity in Europe was the Holy Roman Empire. The Emperor, Frederick II, was informed of the Mongol threat by subordinate rulers in the eastern part of his empire.

Frederick was fully occupied with his dispute with the Papacy, and sent no aid to troops gathering in eastern Europe. The Pope felt the same way, and only offered written encouragement as his answer to calls for help. Subodei was confident that any forces gathered to oppose the Mongols could be overcome.

Subodei again obeyed the dictates of cautious strategy. The army invading Hungary consisted of 90,000 troops. This army was divided into four columns, each entering the plain of Hungary through a different pass. This army set out in March 1241, and the plan was to meet near the capital of Gran (present day Budapest) in early April. Subodei had protected his southern flank with the occupation of the steppes of Ukraine, and his knowledge of the weakness of the Byzantine state. He determined the northern flank should be protected by another army. A force of 30,000 men crossed the Vistula in early March 1241, heading for Krakow. This force was opposed by an army led by the Polish king of Krakow, Boleslav V. When the Mongols approached, Boleslav withdrew to Moravia. Many contingents of the army melted away. A small detachment was left to the palatine of Krakow. This force met the Mongols thirty miles east of Krakow, and was crushed. The Mongols entered Krakow on March 24 (Palm Sunday) and found it deserted. The town was put to the torch.

This northern force divided after crossing the Oder. One touman moved through Poland, then veered north to the Baltic coast, killing and looting as it went. The refugees from this area spread tales that a Mongol horde of 200,000 was ravaging the Baltic coast. The other two toumans headed for Breslau. Breslau turned out to have stone fortifications too difficult to take. These two toumans entered Silesia, and learned that an army was gathering to oppose them. The commander sent for the other touman, which arrived too late for the battle. The Duke of Silesia, Henry, had assembled an army of 30,000 near Liegnitz. Another 50,000 man army led by King Wenceslas of Bohemia was heading for Liegnitz. The Mongol commander knew of both these forces, and determined to bring Henry to battle before the two armies could combine. Henry was afraid of being bottled up in a fortress, so he moved out of Liegnitz to meet the Mongols on a plain a few miles south. On April 9, 1241, battle was joined. Using their normal tactics of arrow storms, feigned retreats and sudden counter attacks, the Mongols decimated the Silesian army. Nine sacks of victim's ears were gathered from the battlefield. Wenceslas of Bohemia retreated to his domain, not wanting to suffer the fate of Henry. The Grand Master of the Templars wrote to the King of France that there was no army of any significance between the Mongol army of Liegnitz and France. And this was the result of the attack of the

smaller arm of the Mongol army. After this victory, the Mongol force obeyed orders issued over two months ago, and headed for Hungary.

When the southern Mongol army entered the plain of Hungary, the four wings moved as planned. Even though there was deep snow, weather did not hinder their movement. Subodei planned for all the wings to meet near the leading city of Hungary, Gran (present day Budapest). The King of Hungary, Bela IV, was in the process of gathering an army of about 100,000. The speed of the Mongol advance took the Hungarians by surprise. One of the wings covered 180 miles, in deep snow, in three days. This kind of speed of movement was missing in European warfare, due to the heavy armor worn by the aristocratic knights. The four wings of the Mongols gathered across the Danube from Gran in late March. Probing raids against the Hungarians were conducted, but no major assaults. In the first days of April, Subodei started to withdraw east. Bela followed with his army. The Mongol retreat lasted several days. The pursuing army became spread out. By the time the Mongols turned around, at the Sajo River, the Hungarian force was about 65,000. On the night of April 9 (the same day as the battle of Liegnitz), the two armies faced each other across the Sajo. There was a bridge over the river there. Subodei tried to lure Bela across the bridge by leaving a small force to guard the bridge. Bela refused, and camped west of the river, facing the bridge. Bela's troops were in a confined camp on a level plain. Subodei had accomplished his goal of getting the enemy out into the open, and was now ready to destroy them.

The next day the Mongols attacked. A feint was made by the small force at the bridge, which Bela was able to repulse easily. Even though it was early spring and the river was high, the Mongols found fords south of the bridge. The larger part of the Mongol army crossed the fords, and surrounded the Hungarian camp. The camp was very confined, which made the task of the Mongol archers easy. Bela led his terrified troops north, through an opening left by the Mongols. Once the Hungarians reached open country, Subodei ordered a pursuit. Running down broken formations in open country was no problem for the Mongol army. For three days and nights they hunted down the enemy. The estimated cost to the Hungarian army was 70,000, which included the forces that had not joined Bela at the Sajo River and were now caught up in the pursuit. An eyewitness wrote "You could see nothing along the roads but fallen warriors, their bodies were strewn everywhere like stones in a quarry" (Legg, p. 292).

The plain of Hungary, the westernmost extension of the steppe, was now in Mongol hands. The army that had conquered Poland joined the

conquerors of Hungary. Hungary was treated as a vast supply house for the Mongols. The main necessity, grass for the horses, existed in sufficient quantity. Other needs were taken from the populace. Expeditions north to Moravia, Poland, and eastern Germany resulted in looting and destruction to these areas. The only area of central Europe that escaped was Bohemia. King Wenceslas of Bohemia had retreated after the battle of Liegnitz, took his army into the mountains of Bohemia, and protected the passes. The Mongols could not enter, so Bohemia was saved. Other than minor sorties such as these, the Mongols spent the rest of 1241 resting and refitting in Hungary.

The reaction of the rest of Europe to the Mongols was expressed by many legends passed down through these and later years. Even though the Mongol armies had been outnumbered at each of their battles in Europe, European sources stressed the vast numbers of the Mongolian hordes. The Mongols were not men but fiends, who rode giant horses. They ate captured prisoners, having a special taste for young females. There was an overhanging doom that could only be avoided by a higher deterrent, embodied by the prayer “From the wrath of the Tartars, Lord deliver us.” (In central and western Europe, the Mongols were known as Tartars.) How could the rest of Europe avoid the same fate? It would take a miracle.

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17

1242—The Teutonic Knights and Alexander Nevsky

The miracle needed in central and western Europe had already taken place. On December 11, 1241, the Great Khan Ogedai died in Karakorum. During the winter and early spring of 1242 while the Mongol army in Europe was not aware of death of Ogedai, Subodei dispatched scouting expeditions to central Europe to determine where the Mongols would go next. One party reached the Adriatic near Venice. One went through what is now the center of Serbia and reached the Adriatic coast further south. A third party, reputed to be led by an English knight in the Mongol service, reached the outskirts of Vienna. The Mongols were testing the entryways to Italy and Germany, and there was no force in Europe that could resist them. All this changed in late April 1242. A messenger reached the main Mongol camp in Hungary with the news of Ogedai's death. Mongol tradition required that royal princes attend the quriltai that selected a new great khan. The army in Europe was led by Batu, grandson of Genghis, and contained at least three other royal great-grandsons of Genghis. The Mongol army left Hungary, never to return in force as far west as central Europe.

The Mongols had left their mark on eastern Europe from an area starting about 150 miles south of the Baltic to the Black Sea. The entirety of what is now Belarus, Ukraine, and southern European Russia would remain in Mongol hands for the next 240 years. This area included most of the great political centers of Russia, such as Tver, Vladimir, and Kiev. On their way back east, Batu and Subodei left enough Mongol troops in this area, based on the town of Sarai on the Volga, to keep control. After the meeting in Mongolia, Batu returned to institute the Khanate of the Golden Horde, which controlled this area until 1480. This area of control extended north as far as the Mongols had reached on their way west. The Mongols had been stopped by a spring thaw from reaching the largest north Russian political center, the merchant republic of Novgorod.

Novgorod was a republic, unlike any other of the small polities in what is now Russia. By 1240, Novgorod was the wealthiest polity of north Russia. Trade passed from the Baltic through Novgorod, due to

their control of the portage routes. Novgorod is on the River Volkov which flows into the Baltic. Short portages from Novgorod could be made to reach the upper reaches of both the Dnieper and the Volga. The republican rulers of Novgorod, whose loose rule reached north to the White Sea and east to the Urals, were interested in keeping the peace to promote trade. Several political entities west of Novgorod were trading partners who wanted to expand in the direction of Novgorod for various reasons. The republican leaders of Novgorod knew they possessed no military ability, so starting in the early 1200s they would select a prince, who had no control of the economy and was strictly a military leader. This person was recruited from the aristocracy in neighboring Russian states.

There had been attacks along the Baltic coast before this time. In 1219, the Danish kingdom sent an expedition to what is now Estonia. This expedition founded the town of Tallinn (which meant Danish Castle) after a battle which featured the first use, by the Danes, of a national flag in Europe. In what is now Latvia, a German bishopric was established in 1201 at Riga, which showed how both Germans and Roman Catholicism were penetrating this area. The leaders of Novgorod were looking for a new prince to protect them against attacks such as these in the late 1230s. Their choice was Alexander, the son of Prince Yaroslav of Vladimir. Vladimir was one of the towns destroyed by the Mongols in early 1238. Alexander had taken part in the fight against the Mongols as a leader of the forces of Vladimir, even though he was only eighteen. He had performed well enough to be recruited by the Novgorod leaders. Alexander was selected prince, which meant military commander, of Novgorod later in 1238. Alexander was a member of the aristocracy as his father Yaroslav remained prince of Vladimir. Alexander married the daughter of the prince of Polotsk to cement his aristocratic standing.

During the years prior to 1240, Russians and Swedes had been contending for control of Finland. Sweden decided to punish the Russians in Finland and to bar access to the Gulf of Finland. The Swedes sent an army to where the Neva River enters the Gulf of Finland (later the site of St. Petersburg). The Swedish army was led by Birger, son-in-law of their king. The intention of the Swedes was to go up the Neva, through Lake Ladoga and the River Volkov, and attack Novgorod. Prince Alexander learned of the expedition, and had an army from Novgorod stationed on the Neva. The Swedes and the Novgorodians met in battle on the River Neva on July 15, 1240. Alexander was victorious, and per the chronicles killed Birger in single combat. The Swedes were able to reach their ships and retreat. As a result of this battle, Alexander earned the name Nevsky, or “of the

Neva."

Prince Alexander was treated as a hero by the inhabitants of Novgorod. In 1240 Alexander tried to interfere in the civilian affairs of the city. The leaders of Novgorod expelled him in late 1240. Alexander returned to live with his father in Vladimir. He remained there until called upon by Novgorod to resume his position as prince.

By 1200, most of Europe had been converted to Christianity. The remaining pagan areas of Europe were along the Baltic. The current states of Finland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania; and what had been East Prussia before World War II were not in the Catholic or Orthodox fold. The Catholic Church had been conducting Crusades in the Holy Land, southern France, and Spain. It was a matter of time and opportunity before someone or some organization would take on the task of launching a crusade against the pagans of the Baltic area. Two military orders of knights started this process in the early 13th century.

In 1191, the Knights of the Teutonic Order were founded in Acre, Palestine. The original purpose of the order was to found and staff a hospital for German crusaders in the Holy Land. This is reflected in their Latin name, translated as German Order of the Hospital of St. Mary. Commonly known as the Teutonic Knights, their theatre of operations shifted from the Holy Land to central Europe in 1211. This shift was a result of the political savvy and power of the fourth Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights, Hermann von Salza. Von Salza was close to both the Pope and the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. Von Salza secured permission of both the Pope and the Emperor to conduct military operations against pagans in Europe. The first military operation was in Hungary, where the Teutonic Knights were invited by the King of Hungary to help him expel the Cumans, a steppe people who had taken refuge from the Mongols on the Hungarian plain. The operation against the Cumans was successful in 1225. The King of Hungary then expelled the Teutonic Knights from his domains, as he was worried about their power. A ruler north of Hungary, Conrad of Mazovia (current central Poland), invited the Teutonic Knights to help him conquer and convert his neighbors to the north. These neighbors were the Prussians, a pagan tribe living what became East Prussia. The Teutonic Knights accepted the commission, established a base at Thorn on the Vistula (near present-day Gdansk) in 1233, and started moving east.

The other order of knights was founded in Livonia (present day northern Latvia and southern Estonia) in 1202. This order was based

in Riga, which had been colonized by Germans in the late 12th century. The order was known as the Livonian Knights. After the Livonian Knights had been in existence about twenty years, they applied to be absorbed into the Order of Teutonic Knights. Riga is much closer to Novgorod than Gdansk is. The Livonian Knights were operating in Livonia against pagans, trying to conquer and convert them to Catholicism. Proximity to areas ruled by Novgorod made conflict inevitable. Hermann von Salza was able to resist this application, even though the Pope wanted to consolidate the crusade in northern Europe. After the Livonian Knights were defeated by the pagan Lithuanians in 1236, Pope Gregory IX compelled the Teutonic Knights to accept the Livonian Knights into their order.

In Prussia, the Teutonic Knights proceeded slowly to conquer, convert, and settle the area. Starting from Thorn in 1233, it took about 50 years to firmly establish control over the area between the Vistula and Nieman Rivers. The order gave one-third of conquered land to the Church. The towns in the area (Danzig, Elbing, Marienburg, Konigsberg) received a large degree of autonomy. The order brought in German settlers to replace the Prussians, who were exterminated if they did not convert. By 1240, this process had just started, and the Teutonic Knights remained along the Baltic coast, taking over the coast of the Frisches Haff, between Danzig and Konigsberg.

The Livonian Knights, now officially members of the Teutonic Knights, were more ambitious. In 1240, while the Swedes were attacking along the Neva River, the knights captured Pskov in Novgorodian territory. They were aided by a merchant of Pskov, cited as a traitor by later Russian and Soviet historians. The German knights captured four other towns in the vicinity of Pskov, taking over this territory in the winter of 1240–1. The knights fortified Pskov after looting it. Seeing their vulnerability, Novgorod recalled Alexander Nevsky and reinstated him as prince in late spring 1241. Alexander gathered the forces he used to defeat the Swedes, and led this army against the Teutonic Knights.

The field of conflict between the Russians and the Germans was the plain between Novgorod and Pskov, which included three lakes (Peipus, Pskov, and Ilmen). Alexander started by taking back the small town of Koporye in late fall of 1241, which was on a waterway that led to Novgorod. In the winter of 1242, Alexander marched on Pskov. After a short siege, Pskov was captured in March 1242. Alexander made camp near Lake Peipus, resting his troops for further action after the spring thaw. The German forces would not wait for the thaw. On April 5, 1242, Russian scouts spotted the German forces moving across

the ice of Lake Peipus for an attack on the Russian camp. Alexander got his forces out of camp, and battle was joined on the ice. The circumstances and result of this battle achieved legendary status. No doubt the Russians won, and the Germans retreated all the way to Riga. Whether many Germans fell through the ice to their deaths, or were killed in the course of combat is not clear. The Russian chronicles exalt the bravery of the Russian troops, and the leadership of Prince Alexander. The chronicle of the Teutonic Knights does not mention this campaign at all.

There were later attacks by Germans, Lithuanians and Swedes against the Novgorod state. All were eventually repulsed, either by Alexander or his son Vasili. Alexander's more important dealings were with the Mongols. Alexander's father Yaroslav had cooperated with the Mongols, and been re-appointed as Grand Prince of Vladimir. After Yaroslav's death in 1246, Alexander and his younger brother Andrew traveled to Sarai, capital of the Khanate of the Golden Horde, to submit to Mongol arbitration as to who would be Grand Prince. After the decision was referred to Karakorum, the Great Khan selected Andrew. The brothers returned to Russia, Alexander taking up his position as prince of Novgorod. By 1250, Andrew was contacting other princes in north Russia to try and overthrow the Mongols. Alexander traveled to Sarai and denounced his brother. The Mongols attacked Andrew, killed him, and made Alexander Grand Prince of Vladimir. Alexander installed his son Vasili as prince of Novgorod. Novgorod soon became tired of grand princely rule, and expelled Vasili in 1255, inviting an opponent of the Mongols to take the position of prince. Alexander led a force against Novgorod, and reinstalled his son as prince. There was another revolt of Novgorod in 1258, against taxes imposed by the Mongols and collected by the princes. Alexander led his army to Novgorod and put down the revolt. In 1262, another revolt of many towns in north Russia broke out over taxes and a draft of young men for the Golden Horde's invasion of Iran. Alexander traveled to Sarai again, and secured an exemption to the draft for north Russia. He also averted reprisals for the revolt. Alexander died during his journey home on November 14, 1263.

Alexander Nevsky has been adopted as a religious and secular saint by various Russian rulers. The Russian Orthodox Church canonized him in 1547, after he had been made a local saint in north Russia in 1381. Peter the Great established the Order of Alexander Nevsky in 1725, to be awarded for military accomplishment. Stalin reinstated the Order of Alexander Nevsky in 1942. In the same year, during a time of desperate resistance to another German invader, Stalin ordered two of the great artists of the Soviet Union to commemorate Alexander and

encourage resistance against the Germans. The result is the film Alexander Nevsky, directed by Sergei Eisenstein with music by Sergei Prokoviev. Current knowledge of Alexander Nevsky is distorted by the popularity of this film. These actions stress Alexander's unquestioned military competence, and battles against western opponents. Alexander's collaboration with the Mongols is not discussed. Alexander, allied with the Russian Orthodox Church, favored collaboration with the Mongols, feeling that military opposition was futile. He was successful enough that his son Vasili succeeded him after his death. His youngest son, Daniel, became the prince of Moscow, founding a family that eventually became Tsar after the expulsion of the Mongols in 1480. These descendants of Alexander Nevsky remained Tsars until 1598.

The Teutonic Knights continued to slowly move along the southeast Baltic coast. The headquarters of the order, which had been established in Acre in 1191, moved to Venice after the capture of Acre in 1291. In 1309, the Grand Master of the Order established a headquarters residence in Marienburg on the Baltic. The lands of the Teutonic Knights extended from Pomerania to Estonia, and included lands in southern and central Germany that had been ceded to the order. The final pagan area of Europe, Lithuania, converted to Catholicism in 1346. After the end of the reason for its existence, the order remained intact and governed the lands it had taken. The military might of the order lasted until its defeat by Poland and Lithuania at the battle of Tannenberg in 1410. The Grand Master of the order converted to Protestantism in 1525, and dissolved the order. The lands along the Baltic remained mostly German until the end of World War II, when the Red Army ejected all Germans east of the current Poland-Germany border.

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18

1245—Fairs and Cathedrals in Northern France

By 1245, what is now northern France was not yet politically united. When Phillip II took over as king in 1180, the kingdom of France consisted mostly of the Ile-de-France and a couple of surrounding counties. Phillip extended the domain to the Atlantic by taking over Normandy and Brittany, and some areas north of the Ile-de-France. His son and heir Louis VIII took part in the Albigensian Crusade, which eventually resulted in the addition of much of southern France to the kingdom. Paris was growing as a center for learning and commerce, but the main centers of commerce in this area of Europe were outside the kingdom of France. The area of Champagne (southwest of Paris) was ruled by the Count of Champagne. The area of Flanders (currently western Belgium) was ruled by the Count of Flanders. Both these areas were sometimes allied by marriage to the French king, but in 1245 neither was under French rule.

Over the hundred years before 1245, trade had been growing over an area including England, Flanders, what is now France, and the northern Italian cities. This trade was conducted over land, as the sailors of Europe had not yet perfected sailing from Italian ports to ports in the English Channel and North Sea. The main products being exchanged were textiles from Flanders on one end, and luxuries from the Middle East sold by northern Italians on the other end. In the absence of direct contact between merchants from Flanders and northern Italy, there needed to be a meeting place for them to do business. This meeting place developed in Champagne.

Fairs had existed since Roman times. In this context, a fair is a regular market for merchants to meet and deal. The local markets for food and other daily necessities were not used for these larger transactions. There are records of fairs all over Europe in the time before the 13th century, such as a fair in Bruges starting in 958 that dealt in textiles. The earliest document mentioning a fair in Champagne dated from 1114. The documents for this and other local fairs show these fairs had been operating for over a century. By the middle of the 12th century, there was a regular round of fairs in the neighboring counties of Champagne and Brie, held under the protection of the local counts.

In 1245, as in prior years, the rotation of the various fairs was:

> six fairs, each lasting approximately two months, were held annually on a regular and predictable circuit tied to religious (and movable) feast days. The trading year opened the day after New Years at Lagny, closest to Paris, and continued there … until sometime in mid–February. Two days later … the fair opened at Bar-sur-Aube, at the easternmost extremity of the circuit, running until Monday in the week of Ascension (between April 13 and May 17). From there, it moved to the larger town of Provins for the May fair…. After the Provins fair closed, the circuit moved immediately to Troyes for the "Hot Fair" of St. Jean, which remained open until early September. On St. Croix day, traders returned to Provins for the St. Ayoul fair until All Saints Day around the beginning of November, at which point the "Cool Fair" of Troyes began, closing near the end of December. Then the cycle repeated [Abu-Luhgod, p. 60–1].

There were three main conditions that had to be met for an international trade fair system such as this to operate. First, safe conduct for the merchants had to be guaranteed. This was done by the Counts of Champagne. This protection began the day they set out for the fair, and followed the merchants even when they were travelling through the territories of other rulers. There was a treaty between the Count of Champagne and the King of France, for example, guaranteeing this protection for merchants while in transit to the fairs of Champagne. Second, while at the fair, there needed to be mechanisms of exchange and credit, as well as an enforcement system. The counts of Champagne and Brie instituted a system of justice within the fairs, and "Guards of the Fair" that policed the fairgrounds, heard complaints and enforced contracts. Third, someone must be motivated to offer the concessions to traders that made a particular site more attractive than any alternative. The counts of Champagne and Brie offered these protections and concessions. In exchange, they collected tolls, received rents on halls, stables and houses leased to merchants, and license fees for their protections.

As we saw in the earlier section on trade in the Indian Ocean, markets such as this can be aided by their geographic location. Champagne was located between the main textile manufacturing center of northwest Europe, and the main commercial centers of the Mediterranean. The protections offered by the counts led to the meetings taking place here. A look at the map shows that Lyon is closer to halfway between these two centers. The ruler of Lyon did not make the effort in the 12th century to secure these fairs. By the

middle of the 13th century, the routine of the Champagne fairs was established. Later in the 13th century, after the absorption of Champagne by France, the fairs moved to Lyon. This was because of the withdrawal of protection by the King of France, and offer of protection by the ruler of Lyon.

In 1245 the fairs were thriving. Each of the individual fairs began slowly, with eight days or so allowed for the arrival and installation of the merchants. After the town crier called “Hare,” the cloth fair opened for a ten-day run. During this period, the only transactions allowed were of textiles, which could not be traded before or after this period. This was the heart of the fair. After this period, transactions were allowed of other products. Two processes, new to northern Europe, allowed the merchants to bring sufficient product and to make these transactions. These processes were industrial manufacture of wool cloth in Flanders, and commercial practices pioneered in northern Italy.

By the 9th century, Flanders was a center of high-quality wool cloth production, which was made in monasteries and rural areas. Merchants in this area were exporting processed cloth to England and Ireland in exchange for raw wool. By the middle of the 11th century, rural weavers, spinners, and fullers were being drawn to cities. The leading example of this was Ghent, where a shift from the traditional horizontal loom to a new vertical loom occurred. Ghent exported textiles along the coast of the North Sea and Baltic, all the way to Novgorod. Ghent merchants started attending the Champagne fairs as soon as they were instituted. Merchant/manufacturers from Ghent and other Flemish towns started to maintain halls at the fairs. Champagne gave the Flemish merchants the opportunity to expand their trade to new markets in the Mediterranean and Middle East. By 1245, the commercial and noble elites of Flanders had been exposed to exotic Eastern products and had the means to pay for these products.

Products from the Middle East and farther east could be supplied by north Italian merchants. These products included spices, various raw materials necessary to process cloth such as alum and indigo, silk, and precious stones. Merchants from Genoa and Venice had commercial contacts in the Byzantine Empire, Latin States, and Egypt to secure these products. Both these city-states had been exposed to the business practices of Islamic traders. At this time, commercial partnerships, good gold coin, and advanced accounting practices were not used in Europe. They were normal in the Islamic world. An example of what the Italians adopted was the commenda. One partner undertook a voyage, borrowing all or most of the capital from another partner,

with profits to be divided according to an agreed formula. Another example was the cambium maritimum, in which a merchant undertaking a voyage borrowed capital in one place and one currency, to be repaid in another place with another currency, the interest concealed in the rate of exchange, repayment contingent on the safe arrival of the ship. At the Champagne fairs, Italian merchants transferred these nautical arrangements to land. At the Champagne fairs, the Italian merchants involved were from Genoa. Genoa was much closer to Champagne, and Venetian merchants concentrated their efforts in Byzantium and Germany.

The Italian merchants became, due to necessity, the financiers of these fairs. Their equipment consisted of a few sacks of metal coins, a pair of scales, and a bench covered with cloth. The bench was called a banco in Italian, the direct derivation of our bank. Italians from Genoa controlled the foreign trade, making agreements with Flemish and other merchants to ship their products for sale in Byzantium, the Holy Land, and Egypt. Smaller money transactions were left to Lombards and other Italians. Pawnbroking was delegated to Jews, who were licensed by the local counts. This allowed the local counts to confiscate Jewish assets when needed. All these monetary practices were the financial base on which the fairs and towns depended.

The money used in these fairs was varied. The local currency in Champagne and Flanders was silver. Currency in the other areas that traded with Flanders was silver as well. There were many denominations of silver currency. The Genoese merchants dealt both in silver and gold. As discussed in the 1220 chapter, gold currency was not widespread in Europe. The first gold coin in Europe was struck in Castile by 1220. What became the most used gold coin in Europe, the Florentine florin, was not initiated until 1252. However, Genoa was actively trading in Islamic and Byzantine markets where gold coins were common. Hence, the Genoese merchant/bankers who attended the Champagne fairs in 1245 would be prepared to deal in many kinds of currency. Accounting practices were developing, leading to the eventual use of double entry accounting by the early 14th century. A high level of trust existed between the Flemish and Genoese merchants, because their trades took a long time to come to fruition. This trust developed over the long duration of the Champagne fairs, and resulted in profits on both sides.

Another side effect of these fairs was local manufacture of fine woolen cloth. Both Troyes and Provins developed highly advanced textile manufacture. The rivers in the Provins valley supplied the water power to aid this industry, and aided transport near the fairs. The

cloth manufactured in Provins was geared for export. The merchants handling these textiles traveled only to the local fairs, but the products ended up in places like Marseilles, Messina, Florence and Acre. Merchants would form associations to rent halls, travel in convoys, and secure lodging for these fairs. All this activity required many support systems in northern France. Money would be spent by the participants in the fairs in the Champagne and Brie areas, leading to increased prosperity. This included workers in the textile industry, who were among the earliest industrial workers in Europe. The increase in wealth of the merchants caused many problems in all these towns. The merchants chafed under the rule of the local nobles, and in Flanders were able to take local power from the nobles. The city elites passed laws and regulations in their own interests. The workers in towns with concentrated textile manufacture tried to protect their own interests as well. The first recorded strike was organized by the weavers of Douai in Flanders in 1245. Other labor uprisings continued for many years in Flanders.

Even though there was an increasing difference in wealth between the elites and the rest of the population in northern France and Flanders, all parties were united in religion. The increased prosperity of this part of Europe was being translated into religious buildings of unprecedented magnificence. These cathedrals were financed by the rulers, guilds, merchants, and common people of the town where it was built. Eighty new style cathedrals were built in northern France from 1150 to 1280. Many were built in the cloth towns that participated in the Champagne fairs. These cathedrals were built in a style that has become known as Gothic, and each comprised a Bible in glass and stone.

The terms we now use to describe medieval church architecture are anachronistic. No one in the 11th century Normandy called the style of church building Romanesque. No one in northern France in 1245 was trying to build the finest Gothic cathedral. The styles, which were admired and copied, acquired these names later. In 1120, the style we call Romanesque was prevalent. This style featured thick walls, rounded arches, little window space, and cruciform layout of the worship space. The basic form used in Romanesque cathedrals would be used going forward. The floor plan of a cathedral would feature a cross, with the nave (the western part of the cross, opposite the sanctuary) being the largest arm. There were various levels to the church. The main level (arcade) and second level (triforum) were thickly built, and in a Romanesque church had small windows. The highest level (clearstory) was thinner, and contained windows which were the main source of light in the cathedral. There was great

variation in the Romanesque cathedrals built before 1120, but these basics applied.

The change to a new style was initiated in northern France with the construction of the church of the abbey of St. Denis. This church, now located in a Paris suburb, was constructed starting in 1135 on a site about 7 miles from the island of Paris. There are two reasons St. Denis is considered the start of the Gothic style, historical and architectural. The historical reason is that the person in charge of St. Denis, Abbot Suger, was the leading advisor to two kings of France, Louis VI and VII. His actions were monitored by many in the area of the Ile-de-France. Suger wrote an account of the building of St. Denis, which circulated in church circles and gave a guide on how to proceed with building a cathedral. This guide covered construction, but did not discuss the architectural features of the new cathedral. The architectural features of St. Denis made use of new technologies to institute a new style of building. Windows on the lower floors were much larger. Stained glass became more prominent. Abbot Suger gathered craftsmen from afar to handle stained glass and external sculptures. St. Denis is now considered the starting point of the Gothic cathedral, a change from the Romanesque that led to a new style, which would be perfected in the next century.

Pope Gregory I in the sixth century called for depicting spiritual scenes on church walls for the benefit of illiterate parishioners. Most worshipers at a mass in 13th century Europe were illiterate. A new solution to this request came in the form of stained glass windows. Several technical developments made this possible. The pointed arch was developed in India, and its first use in Europe was in Italy at Monte Cassino in the late 11th century. This allowed internal columns to bear most of the weight of the higher levels, making the space between the columns available for windows. The manufacture of colored glass had improved to the point that enough stained glass was available to construct these windows. The roofs of these high buildings had originally been made of wood, but many fires led to the consideration of other building materials. Adding the weight of brick or stone had caused difficulties in pushing the higher parts of the walls out. The solution to this was the flying buttress, the most visible external symbol of a Gothic cathedral. All these features were used at St. Denis. The masons, builders and architects who built the new cathedrals saw these features and experimented to improve their efficiency in the next century.

The act of building of these great cathedrals was a combination of commerce and religion. Among the cloth manufacturing towns in

northern France were sites of the largest and most beautiful cathedrals. These towns include Paris, Rouen, Amiens, Beauvais, St. Denis, Caen, and most famously, Chartres. As Chartres (or its correct name, the Notre-Dame de Chartres) was mostly finished in 1245, we will use it as the exemplar of the process of building a cathedral. This period saw the expansion of the cult of the Virgin Mary. The "Virgin's Veil," a celebrated relic, is housed in Chartres Cathedral. The best known American appreciation of Chartres, by Henry Adams, stresses the energy created by the Virgin: "the highest energy known to man, the creator of four-fifths of his noblest art, exercising vastly more attraction over the human mind than all the steam-engines ever dreamed of … all the steam in the world could not, like the Virgin, build Chartres" (Cahill, p. 108). Another historian, Emile Male, called Chartres "the mind of the Middle Ages made manifest" (Cahill, p. 107). We will use these as starting points to discuss this cathedral.

While energy was certainly necessary to build Chartres, even in the devout early 13th century money was required. Money came from all parts of the community. The west facing porch and towers were financed by the royal family of France. This was started by Phillip II Augustus in 1215, continued by his son and heir Louis VIII until the stonework was finished in 1235. The statuary and windows of this area were originally financed by the regent of France, Blanche of Castile, along with her stepbrother-in-law, Phillip Hurepal. This continued even though Phillip Hurepal rebelled against the regency of Blanche, and conducted a war against her from 1228 to 1230. After Blanche's son Louis IX assumed power, Louis IX continued to fund the artistic work until 1270. All these royals are portrayed in external sculpture and stained glass at Chartres.

A contemporary document quoted by Adams shows how others worked on the cathedral. Archbishop Hugo of Rouen said that the faithful of his diocese joined with others further afield from Chartres to transport necessary materials to the building site of Chartres. Before participating, all persons must have:

> been to confession, renounced enmities and revenges, and reconciled himself with his enemies…. Powerful princes of the world, men brought up in honor and wealth, nobles, men and women, have bent their proud and haughty necks to the harness of carts, and, like beasts of burden, they have dragged to the abode of Christ these wagons, loaded with wines, grains, oil, stone, wood and all that is necessary for the wants of life or for the construction of the church [Adams, p. 100–1].

We lack the name of a single artist, architect, or creator of stained glass for this work. The anonymous support of the devout certainly was a large part in the building of this church.

When a bishop decided to try to build a great cathedral for his diocese, the bishop's first task was to raise the money. As stated above, some came from the royal family. Most bishops in northern France were from wealthy families, and set the tone with a large contribution of their own. Local nobles were approached and offered indulgences authorized by the pope in exchange for contributions. Fund raising dinners were held throughout the diocese. Any relics in possession were marched around the diocese. These relics were used to rouse moral fervor, miracles were reported, and unearthly rewards were promised. Large organizations were offered special recognition for their contributions. The glory of Chartres Cathedral is its stained glass. Virtually all the windows were sponsored by some noble or guild. Nineteen guilds paid for stained glass windows, and the window would show some biblical figure performing the trade so honored, such as drapers, butchers, carpenters and the like. All gifts, no matter how small, were accepted. A contemporary bishop said: "The cathedral of Paris was largely built with the farthings of old women" (Adams, p. 110). These old women were not recognized like the guilds or nobles. Another example of an organization not being recognized happened in the building of the cathedral of Paris. The guild of prostitutes made a contribution, and asked for a window or chalice. The bishop there accepted the contribution, but persuaded the guild that recognition would not be appropriate.

Prostitutes would have been familiar to the professionals who constructed these cathedrals. Many trades grew during the time of the construction of these cathedrals. In 1245 these tradesmen would have been resident in Chartres working on unfinished parts of the cathedral. There were many other cathedrals under construction throughout western Christendom at this time, mostly concentrated in England, France, Flanders, Germany, Italy, and Spain. The workers would try to find employment as close to home as possible, but it was common for workers to travel long distances to find work. These occupations included masons, carpenters, glaziers, metalworkers, carters, painters, mortarmen, hod carriers and others. At the height of activity, there would be over a thousand workers living and working at one of these building sites. The most advanced technology of the day would be used in aiding construction. Stone was cut at the quarry, to save on cost of transportation. Hoists and scaffolds were built to lift and place the cut stone. Passageways and staircases were built into the fabric of cathedrals like Chartres, which provided stable internal

access to construction at higher levels.

The design and construction of a great medieval cathedral was done under the direction of a master mason. As with a modern architect, there would be consultation with the party financing the building. There would be input from the king, local nobles, and the bishop. These masters were not academically trained, learning by experience the correct techniques. The masters would consult with each other, and travel around to see if any new techniques or designs were available. We do not know who was in charge of the architecture and construction of Chartres Cathedral. But by this time, some master masons had made the leap to being considered the architect of a particular project. An example of this was the naming of Robert de Luzarches as architect of Amiens Cathedral in 1220. This job would last as long as the architect and bishop got along, usually lasting until the death of one of the parties. Construction of a great cathedral was a project that took more than one generation. The nave of Chartres Cathedral was under construction from 1194 through 1220. Chartres was mostly complete by 1245, and being used as a model for later cathedrals. Construction started on the cathedral at Cologne in 1248 and was not completed until the 20th century. There was experimentation on all cathedral projects. Most of these experiments worked, but there were failures. One famous example was the spectacular collapse of the vault ceiling at Beauvais Cathedral in 1284. Beauvais Cathedral still stands, but only because modern bracing keeps the walls vertical.

Large cathedrals were designed for the worship of a large community, both urban and the surrounding rural areas. In times of troubles, the cathedral would serve as a sanctuary for the common people who had no protection from a marauding army and no stone castle to retreat to. When one visits a large cathedral in Europe nowadays, the worship area is very small and the rest of the church is devoted to tourism. We must remember that when the cathedral was built, there were daily masses, and the cathedral would be full every Sunday. The Gothic cathedral reflected the central importance of Christianity in these areas. It showed the increased prosperity experienced by these communities.

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19

1248—The Indian Subcontinent

The Indian subcontinent has been a place of relatively few states in the last hundred years. It was united under British rule until 1947, and now has four main polities. In the time before the British imposed the Raj, there were many polities in India. In the long history of civilization in India, there are times of one dominant state surrounded by smaller polities, and times of many smaller polities with no dominant state. In the 13th century, the latter was the case. We will review the status in 1248 going from south to north in the Indian subcontinent, where we will encounter the most important politician, Balban.

The development of kingdoms in the far south of India was guided by geography. The west coast of far southern India backs against mountains that are within 50 miles of the coast. The main rivers of southern India flow east, from the mountains that are close to the western coast. Hence, there is not much arable land on the west coast of southern India. The kingdoms there were small, based on port cities that conducted trade. Agricultural areas were not sufficient to produce large surpluses that could be exported. Hence, the two kingdoms on the Malabar coast of southwest India were centers of trade. The kingdoms of Chera and Perumal were home to ports that received trade from various parts of the Indian Ocean. The ports of Quilon in Perumal and Calicut in Chera were emporia for goods from eastern India, northwestern India and the Middle East. These kingdoms faced physical difficulties if they tried to expand. Mountains blocked movement west, and expansion by sea was too expensive for such small polities. These kingdoms successfully kept the peace in their part of the world, and remained open for business in 1248 to trade. In these kingdoms there were substantial Jewish communities, who had moved there to serve trade with the Middle East. The first records of Jewish settlement date from the tenth century, and exist as land records in Chera. The records of the Geniza in Cairo (the synagogue of the community) show correspondence with counterparts in Chera who had Indian partners.

On the east coast of south India, geography allowed the development

of larger polities. The flatlands around the Daveri and Vaigai Rivers made extensive agriculture possible. Cotton was the main cash crop of this area. The manufacturing of cotton cloth was discussed in the 1237 chapter. Trade in cotton cloth, surplus rice and other agricultural product was controlled in the cities on the southeast coast. These cities on the Coromandel Coast included Tanjore, Kanchipuram, and Nellore. The cities were centers of the kingdoms of southeast India. The kingdom located furthest south on the east coast was Pandya. Marco Polo visited the Pandyan kingdom in the late 13th century, and left a vivid description of its richness. Pandya's extent was from the southern tip of the peninsula to the Kaveri River, along the plains. This included the delta of two rivers, which considerably abetted agricultural productivity. The next kingdom north on the coast was Pallava. Both Pandya and Pallava came into existence around the 7th century, and had reached their peak by 900. These kingdoms were taken over by the Chola, who came from the higher ground inland. The Chola ruled all the land east of the mountains to the east coast south of the Pennar River after about 1000. The rule of the Chola remained effective until the middle of the 12th century, when it started to decline. The Pandya and Pallava royal families had remained in place as subordinate rulers, and started to regain power as the Chola declined. By 1248, there was a multiplicity of kingdoms under the nominal rule of the Chola in southwest India. The Chola were declining, but would not be displaced until the middle of the 14th century.

The rural areas of southwest India were home to village assemblies called the *ur*. These councils were made up of the local landholders, and were powerful locally. The port cities of southeast India were home to merchants who became wealthy from the trade conducted across the Indian Ocean to Malacca and west India. These merchants had become powerful locally by 1248. The kings of Chola, Pandya, and Pallava had become weaker as these local magnates gained power. A result of this was the increase in construction of temples by local aristocrats, aristocrats by birth or wealth. Even though India was the birthplace of Buddhism, the main religion of the people of India was Hinduism. Buddhism had spread to Ceylon, southeast Asia and China, but was not practiced by many people in the Indian subcontinent in 1248. The other major religion was Islam, which we will encounter as we move north.

The middle of the subcontinent, north of the Pennar River to the north Indian plain, was a hodgepodge of kingdoms and small polities. Going from the west to east in central India, the kingdoms included Kuntala, Kadamba, Konka, Shilahara, Chalukya, Hoysala, Kakatiya,

Rashtrakuta, Kalachuri, and Somavamshi. These were Hindu kingdoms. Many different languages were spoken in central India. These kingdoms were usually engaged in low level conflict, but all remained viable in 1248. All traded with each other, and the polities that were most successful managed to raise the level of prosperity in their state. Sea trade took place along the coasts, and the most prosperous places were the ports servicing this trade. The most successful polity in central India during this time was on the east coast, Orissa.

In 1248, Orissa extended from the mouth of the longest river of central India, the Godavari, to the present-day site of Calcutta. Orissa was a coastal state, not reaching more than 100 miles inland. Orissa was under the rule of the Gajapati dynasty, established in 1112. King Annagabhima (ruled 1219–1239) had a general, Vishnu, who defended the realm against the Muslim rulers of Bengal. Annagabhima was pleased with Vishnu's performance, stating in an inscription: "How are we to describe that heroism of Vishnu during his fight with the Muslim king, while all alone he shot dead many excellent soldiers? … [The display of heroism] became a grand feast to the sleepless and unwinking eyes of the gods who were interested lookers-on in the heaven above" (Kulke and Rothermund, p. 184). The ruler of Orissa in 1248 was Annagabhima's son, Narasimhavarman. Most of the Hindu states of central India practiced defensive strategy against the Muslim forces of north India. Narasimhavarman went on the offensive when confronted by aggression. In 1243 the Muslim governor of Bengal tried to extend his province south along the coast. The forces of Orissa attacked Bengal, reaching the provincial capital of Lakhnaur. The next year's campaign against Bengal was commemorated by Narasimhavarman's grandson much later. The inscription reads: "The Ganga herself blackened for a great extent by the flood of tears which washed away the collyrium from the eyes of the Muslim women from west and north Bengal whose husbands have been killed by Narasimhavarman's army" (Kulke and Rothermund, p. 184). This offensive policy made Orissa a leading Hindu state, and protected it from attack by the largest polity in the Indian subcontinent, the Sultanate of Delhi.

The Sultanate of Delhi that existed in 1248 was the result of two successive invasions from Afghanistan. In 1000 a Turkish army led by Mahmud of Ghanzi invaded the north Indian plain. Seventeen separate campaigns of plunder and destruction were launched until they ceased in 1025. The Ghanzi raided and destroyed from Gujarat to the central reaches of the Ganges. The Ghanzi's power base was in Iran. In 1040, the Ghanzis were evicted from Iran by the Seljuk Turks. The Ghanzis

withdrew to what are now Pakistan and the Punjab. The Ghanzis were Turkish Muslims, ruling over a mainly Hindu population. The Ghanzis, and subsequent Muslim invaders of India, were members of a society much more open and egalitarian than Hindu society. Anyone could join an army and advance by military ability. Hindu armies were led by higher caste kings and princes who were not necessarily the most competent leaders. When these Hindu armies met Muslim armies, the Muslim leaders owed their victories to superior military merit. Sultans would be replaced by slaves turned generals if the sultan was incompetent. The father of Mahmud of Ghanzi was a slave who rose to military command. This would happen again.

In 1175, another ex-slave military leader from Afghanistan, Muhammad of Ghur, led a force out of the mountains to the Indus valley. He conquered Multan on the Indus that year, and by 1186 had vanquished Mahmud of Ghanzi's last successor at Lahore. By 1202 he was in Bengal, defeating King Lakshmana Sena. In 1205 the domain of Muhammad extended from Afghanistan to the Bay of Bengal, covering the valleys of the Indus and Ganges. Many of the victories in western India had been won by one of Muhammad's leading generals, the slave Qutb-ud-din Aibek. Qutb-ud-din Aibek had been installed as viceroy of Delhi, ruling the Punjab. The leading general in eastern India was Muhammad Bakhityar Khalji. After the assassination of Muhammad of Ghur in 1206, a struggle between the leading generals ensued. Qutb-ud-din Aibek won the struggle, instituting the Slave, or Mamluk, dynasty, which ruled northern India from 1206 through 1290. In 1208 Qutb-ud-din Aibek returned to Afghanistan. He made an agreement with Muhammad's son Muhammad Ghori, where Aibek received official status as ruler of the Sultanate of Delhi, and Muhammad Ghori received rule of Ghur, which was most of present Afghanistan.

Qutb-ud-din Aibek died in 1211. He was succeeded by Shamsuddin Iltutmish. Iltutmish's background is an example of the vicissitudes of Turkish society. Iltutmish was the son of a noble Turk living in Afghanistan. His older half brothers became jealous of his looks and intelligence. They sold Iltutmish to a passing slave trader. Iltutmish was bought by Qutb-ud-din Aibek after passing through many hands. Qutb-ud-din Aibek was impressed enough to free Iltutmish and marry Iltutmish to one of his daughters. Iltutmish defeated a pretender to the throne in 1211, and moved the capital to Delhi, where he founded the Sultanate of Delhi.

How Iltutmish dealt with the Mongols and the Khwaresm shah show his diplomatic ability. When the Mongols invaded Khwaresm in 1219,

the shah asked for Iltutmish's help as a fellow Muslim. Iltutmish had been disputing the area west of the Indus valley with the Khwaresmian shah, and did not join his fight against Genghis Khan. After Genghis defeated the Khwaresmians, Jelal ad-din, the son of the shah fled to Iltutmish's territory. As was stated in the 1233 chapter, Iltutmish sent Jelal back into Iran. Iltutmish was very aware of the Mongol menace. He maintained good relations with the Mongols, not disputing their possession of parts of Afghanistan and raids in the Indus valley. After the death of Genghis, Iltutmish led expeditions to retake these territories from the Mongols. Iltutmish then extended his direct rule east into Bihar and Bengal, where subordinates of his had tried to break away. By the time of Iltutmish's death in 1236, he had established a strong Muslim government from the mouth of the Indus to the mouth of the Ganges, covering the entire course of both rivers and the Punjab between. In 1229, Iltutmish had received the title of Sultan of Hindustan from the Caliph in Bagdad.

There was no fixed law of succession in the Sultanate of Delhi. Iltutmish had created a new class of Turkish nobility from his slave officers. By 1236, this group of newly ennobled officers held all the important offices of government, and was referred to as "the Forty." Iltutmish thought that the Forty would ensure the succession of his children to the throne. This hope was not fulfilled for long. Iltutmish's eldest and ablest son predeceased him. His second son, Radnukkin Firoze was raised to the throne by the Forty. He lasted seven months. His half-sister Razia incited a mob in Delhi to overthrow Radnukkin. Razia became the first and last female sultan of Delhi. Razia was a competent ruler, combating rebellion and keeping power centralized. The accession of a woman to an Islamic throne was against all tradition. The dramatic events of Razia's installation kept the opposition quiet for a couple of years, but by 1240 she was forced out. She was defeated by a combination of nobles and mullahs. Razia and her husband, a noble she had married in the vain hope of regaining power, were captured and beheaded on October 13, 1240.

The Forty installed another son of Iltutmish as Sultan. Muizuddin Behram Shah was a puppet ruler for two years. During this time, the Mongols raided what is now Pakistan. Lahore was captured and sacked in 1241. After that Muizuddin was deposed. Two contenders for the sultanate emerged. One of the Forty declared himself sultan, but was removed by his fellow nobles. A grandson of Iltutmish, Alauddin Masudshah, was installed as sultan. During Alauddin's four-year reign, the sultanate underwent further disintegration. In 1246 he was assassinated by members of the Forty.

The new sultan, Nasiruddin Mahmud, was a grandson of Iltutmish through his eldest son. Nasiruddin had no desire to be sultan, but allowed himself to be used by the leaders of the Forty. Nasirudden was a well-educated man of gentle and pious nature. He had little interest in state affairs and surrendered power to the leaders of the conspiracy that put him in power. By 1248, the distribution of spoils to the conspirators was complete. These nobles were happy with their rewards. While Nasiruddin was Sultan, he acted more like a modern constitutional monarch than a medieval sultan. Nasiruddin was a devout Muslim and lived a virtuous life, keeping busy with religious activities. In the words of a contemporary, the sultan "expressed no opinion without the noble's permission; he did not move his hands or feet except at their order…. Ulugh Khan (Balban) served the king and controlled all his affairs; the king lived at the palace and Ulugh Khan governed the empire" (Mehta, p. 107).

At the beginning of Nasiruddin's reign, he was allowed to choose his vizier (chief minister) from the junta of nobles that installed him. Nasiruddin's choice was Ghiasuddin Balban, who assumed the title of Ulugh Khan with the consent of his colleagues. Balban was about 40 years old in 1248. He had been active in the planning of the coup against Alauddin, even though Alauddin was Balban's son-in-law. In 1249, Nasiruddin married another daughter of Balban. Later Balban's son married a daughter of Nasiruddin by another wife. Balban merged his family with the ruling family of the Sultanate of Delhi.

Balban was a member of the same Turkish tribe as Iltutmish. In his youth he was captured by the Mongols, along with other members of his family. The Mongols made him a slave, and sold him to Jamaluddin of Basra. Jamaluddin was a learned man, and he brought up Balban as his son. In 1232, Balban was purchased by Iltutmish, who made Balban his personal attendant. Balban quickly rose to become one of the Forty. Under the successors of Iltutmish, Balban filled the offices of lord of the stable then lord chamberlain. He was awarded vast estates in the territory of the Sultanate. By 1248, Balban was the leading figure in the Sultanate of Delhi.

Although Balban was not the sultan in 1248, he was effectively ruler of the Sultanate of Delhi. Balban remained the vizier until 1249, when he was appointed viceroy. He remained the viceroy for the lifetime of Nasiruddin, who died in 1266. Balban succeeded Nasiruddin as Sultan, remaining in place until his death in 1286. In 1246 when Balban took over, the Sultanate of Delhi was very weak. The Mongols had ravaged the northwest frontier, Hindu chiefs were aggressively staking out local influence, and several Turkish provincial governors were

showing rebellious tendencies. Balban's first task was to impose internal order. Starting in the winter (the dry season in India) of 1246, Balban led military expeditions to various parts of the Sultanate. Not all these expeditions were successful, but the policy restored confidence in the eyes of the subjects. The expedition against the Mongols in 1246–7 led to the Mongol evacuation of the Indus valley, but not until the Mongols had ravaged the area again and carried away thousands of inhabitants as slaves. The winter expedition of 1247–8 was conducted against Hindu chiefs in the areas south of Delhi. This was the start of a long campaign, conducted most winters, to exert central control. Traditionally, warfare in India was only waged during the dry season. Some areas along the lower Ganges had been lost to Hindu rulers during the times of weak rulers after Iltutmish. Balban started the process of regaining these territories in the winter of 1248–9 with a campaign against Gwailor and Kalinjar. This campaign was unsuccessful, but showed Balban's intentions.

In 1248, Balban was still consolidating his control of the Sultanate. Balban volunteered to resign his post in 1253, after a conspiracy by some of his cohorts in the Forty. An Indian Muslim, Imaduddin Raihan, became viceroy for about six months. His performance was unsatisfactory to the Turkish nobles, who caused Balban to be recalled. Balban became viceroy again, never to lose power for the rest of his life.

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20

1250—Disputes Between Pope and Emperor and the Death of Frederick II

When we last viewed the relationship between the Papacy and Emperor Frederick II, peace between the two parties had been agreed in July 1230. Frederick had achieved the normalization of relations with Pope Gregory IX, after a long dispute. The main point of dispute was the fact that Frederick's lands surrounded the Papal States. The Pope felt constrained by this territorial fact. When Frederick needed to move an army from northern to southern Italy (or vice versa), the army needed to march through the Papal States. The Pope was trying to rule the Papal States as a monarch, and many of the nobles in the Papal States resented this rule. Frederick was seen as an alternative by these nobles. After 1230, these facts led to increasing tension, resulting in an eventual break.

Pope Gregory IX kept their conflict out of the spotlight for just short of nine years, co-operating with Frederick until 1235. During these years, Gregory turned his attentions to internal and spiritual problems of the church. He strengthened the Inquisition in southern France. Gregory entrusted the operation of the Inquisition to a new order of friars, the Dominicans.

This order was founded by Domingo de Guzman, a Castilian born around 1170. He was a member of the nobility there, and joined the religious community of the cathedral of Osma as a subprior in 1198. In 1203, the bishop of Osma was sent to southern France to investigate heresy. Dominic joined the bishop on this trip. Dominic felt that the church's actions against the heretics in southern France were insufficient. On a later trip to Rome in 1206, Dominic and the bishop of Osma proposed that the way to oust the heretics was to beat them at their own game. There should be a number of preachers who would tramp the roads barefoot and in poverty. A quick result of this campaign was the establishment of a convent of nuns formed from a group of women converted from heresy in late 1206. Dominic continued to develop his design and gain support in the church. By the time the Order of Friars Preachers (commonly known as Dominicans) was officially sanctioned in 1216, the attitude of this order was

established. The friars lived a community life, observed the fasts and diet traditional to monks, but dispensations for study and preaching were allowed in the constitution of the order. The two main areas of emphasis became the Inquisition and teaching at universities. The Inquisition was operated by the Dominicans after Pope Gregory IX's ruling in 1234.

Frederick spent most of the next five years after 1230 concentrating on his Sicilian kingdom. He issued a new set of laws, the Constitutions of Melfi, in 1231. Frederick established one of the strongest bureaucracies in Europe during these years in the Kingdom of Sicily. The bureaucracy's function was to administer justice, collect taxes and regulate trade. The result of this was that the Kingdom of Sicily became as close to an absolute monarchy that 13th century technology allowed. Frederick had founded a university at Naples in 1224, with the specific purpose of securing servants for his state. The financial status of the Kingdom improved. Frederick tried to control sale of excess food production. Frederick tried to promote trade conducted by subjects of the Kingdom of Sicily. This effort failed, as trade remained in the hands of Genoese, Pisan, and Venetian traders. All the trade conducted by these foreigners was controlled by a warehouse system at the ports of the Kingdom.

Frederick's ability to act depended on his financial resources. As emperor, Frederick ruled over a vast area of Europe north of the Papal States, but rarely realized any money from those areas. He needed to be present, particularly in Germany, to raise money. If he was not, the imperial income was spent by local officials. The same was true in Lombardy, with the added problem that collection of any imperial income was always contested, and required an imperial army to be present. When he needed money, Frederick tended to secure it in the Kingdom of Sicily. The kingdom was known as the richest in Europe under Frederick's grandfather, Roger II. Frederick aimed to restore that status. A sound currency was necessary. Frederick instituted a silver denarius in 1225, and a gold augustale in 1231. These coins remained the main currency in the Kingdom until after Frederick's death.

Two main tax sources were exploited by Frederick. One was import/ export taxes on trade. All imports were subject to a tariff. Export taxes were laid out in the Constitutions of Melfi. The other tax was a land tax, called the Collecta. Both kinds of taxes were administered by the master chamberlain of the Kingdom. The Kingdom had a sizeable bureaucracy to collect these taxes. The master chamberlain issued orders, in the name of the King, to jusitciars in each province each

year, with the new Collecta rates. There were tax collectors, called bajuli, who were responsible for collecting the Collecta. There were customs officials at all ports and border crossings to enforce the import/export taxes. These bajuli and customs officials were the most numerous officials in the Kingdom. The money collected this way was the main source of income for Frederick's fights with the Pope and the Lombard communes. Frederick borrowed money from the emerging banks of Rome and Lombardy and was sure to pay them back on time to retain his credit. These exactions from the Kingdom of Sicily started the process of transforming this area from one of the richest in Europe to one of the poorest.

Frederick spent most of the years 1230–5 in the Kingdom of Sicily. Frederick had appointed his first legitimate son, Henry, as his representative in the Empire. Henry remained in Germany, and had not seen his father since 1220. By 1235, Henry was twenty-six years old and chafing under his father's thumb. Frederick received complaints about Henry's behavior from trusted princes in the empire, and had tried to rein Henry in during meetings in 1231 and 1232. But in 1235, Henry went into open rebellion. Frederick traveled to Germany for the first time since 1220. During this trip Frederick accomplished two main tasks. He met Henry on July 4, determined Henry could not be trusted, and imprisoned him. Henry died in captivity in 1242. Frederick installed his second legitimate son, Conrad, as new king of the Germans, his representative in Germany. Conrad was still a minor, but could function as a figurehead until he achieved his majority around 1243. Pope Gregory IX had proposed a marriage alliance with the King of England. Negotiations for this marriage had been completed, and Isabella, the sister of King Henry III of England, was on her way to Germany for the marriage. Frederick and Isabella were married in Cologne on July 20, 1235. Frederick returned to Italy, making only one short trip north of the Alps in 1237. The rest of his life was spent in Italy.

The agreement between Frederick and Pope Gregory IX held for six years. During these years Frederick and Gregory consulted on various issues. Gregory approved of all Frederick's actions in Germany. Frederick considered the Kingdom of Sicily as his own domain, not subject to any papal review. The remaining area of Frederick's rule, northern Italy, became the main bone of contention between the Emperor and the Pope. This area of Italy, south of the Alps and north of the Papal States, was part of the Holy Roman Empire. This area, along with Flanders, was the most urbanized area of Europe at this time. There were many towns that were in the empire, but had been granted communal privileges. This meant the towns had a degree of

self-government. The meaning of these privileges and the true degree of self-government was the cause of the dispute between Frederick and the Lombard communes. This dispute went back to the early 12th century. Frederick Barbarossa had taken and destroyed Milan in the 1160s. The collective memory of the Milanese and their allies always remembered this fact, and Milan was a consistent leader of the opposition to Frederick II. Other towns in northern Italy, such as Verona, were consistently allied to the Emperor. These two factions, anti-emperor (Guelf) and pro-emperor (Ghibelline) existed in every Lombard community. Depending on local conditions, the towns could, and did, change allegiances. During the time from 1235 to 1250, the Guelf faction was allied to the Pope.

In 1237, after his return from Germany, Frederick started military action against his opponents in Lombardy. These Guelf cities had formed the Lombard League. Frederick led an army into Lombardy. In November 1237, Frederick defeated a Milanese army at Cortenuova. The Milanese forces retreated into their fortified home city. Frederick celebrated a Roman style triumph in the nearby Ghibelline town of Cremona. Negotiations between Frederick and the Lombard League in the winter of 1237–8 gave Frederick his best chance to end this dispute. The Lombards agreed to all his demands except unconditional surrender of Milan. After the breaking off of negotiations, Frederick besieged Milan. The siege was unsuccessful. This pattern would continue until Frederick's death in 1250. Frederick would suffer only one defeat in military encounters with the Lombard League. Frederick was never able to take the main centers of resistance (Milan, Genoa, Parma) due to his inability to successfully besiege a fortified city. We have seen above that the Mongols had the same problem earlier this century. The Mongols eventually solved the problem. Frederick never did.

Over the winter of 1238–9, rumors were circulating that Gregory was considering another excommunication of Frederick. Letters went back and forth between the imperial court and the Curia. Charges were exchanged, and the pope's decision was awaited. Pope Gregory IX imposed his second sentence of excommunication on Frederick on Palm Sunday 1239. There were many charges listed, but the dispute with the Lombard League was not mentioned. Ironically, on the date of the excommunication, Frederick's most trusted and effective envoy to the Pope, Hermann von Salza, died. Hermann never learned of the final break between the two powers he tried to reconcile. The Pope sent out friars to spread the word of his action. The church enjoyed a near monopoly on literacy in Catholic areas during this time and used that position to vilify the Emperor. Direct communications were sent

to the other crowned heads of Europe justifying his actions. His representative to the Lombard League went so far as to declare a crusade against Frederick. Pope Gregory would not ratify that declaration, but anything short of that was allowed. The pope imposed increased tithes on churches in Spain, Germany and France to fund these activities. Frederick returned the propaganda fire. Frederick had been gathering literate, secular servants to his court, many from the University of Naples. The private condemnations on both sides reached a level of polemic not often seen. Papal correspondence with other churchmen called Frederick a forerunner of the Antichrist, not a Christian, father of many illegitimate children (correct, as Frederick had eight illegitimate children by now) and being too friendly with Judaism and Islam. Frederick returned the fire by claiming Gregory was an impure priest, unjust judge, and unseeing prophet. He warned the other crowned heads of Europe that this attack on the imperial crown would be followed by attacks on their own crowns.

The dispute between the pope and emperor next took a military turn. Pope Gregory made an alliance with Genoa and Venice. The purpose was to invade the Kingdom of Sicily. The maritime powers agreed to supply the shipping, but the pope would have to supply the troops. Gregory had not yet gathered enough money to hire the necessary troops. In February 1240, Frederick entered the Papal States, in transit from northern to southern Italy. Frederick brought his army to the vicinity of Rome, whose citizens were displeased with the Pope and tended to support the emperor. On February 22, Gregory led all ranks of clergy—from local church leaders to members of the papal bureaucracy—in a procession from the Lateran Palace to St. Peter's. The Ghibelline supporters of Frederick hooted at the procession and surrounded the pope on the steps of St. Peter's. Gregory spoke to the crowd, exhibiting holy relics and taking the papal tiara and displaying it to the crowd. He proclaimed a holy war against the emperor, urging the Romans to protect the liberty of the church. The fickle Roman crowd changed its mind and backed the pope. The gates of Rome remained closed. Frederick knew that for political and military reasons he could not take Rome by siege, so he moved south and returned to the kingdom.

Later in 1240, both sides took their next step in the dispute. Frederick transited the Papal States again, meeting no resistance except from towns that closed their gates to him. Gregory called a general council of the church at Rome to meet on Easter 1241. Papal and imperial supporters in the curia disagreed on the composition of the council. Members of the College of Cardinals, led by Cardinal Giovanni Colonna, urged the pope to negotiate and consider the emperor's

position. Gregory refused, and got into a violent argument with Colonna. Frederick allowed the higher clergy from his realms to attend the council, but would not guarantee safe passage of other clergy. Frederick appointed a Genoese loyal to him as admiral of Sicily, and instructed him to intercept as many delegates to the council as he could. The delegates from northern Europe and Lombardy had gathered at Genoa, and a Genoese fleet escorted the delegates to Rome. The Sicilian fleet intercepted the Genoese fleet off Tuscany. The result was a decisive victory for Frederick: the Genoese fleet was destroyed, and two cardinals and many archbishops and bishops were captured. Frederick ordered the imprisonment of the captured clergy, hoping to use them as bargaining chips with Gregory. Frederick marched south through the Papal States in the summer of 1241. He made contact with Cardinal Colonna, still trying to negotiate a settlement with Gregory. Gregory, who was in his early nineties, was confined to the city by the presence of Frederick's army. Gregory fell ill in the heat of a Roman summer, and died in August 1241. Much would now depend on the selection of the new Pope.

After a conclave held in conditions as bad as the prison where Frederick was holding two cardinals, a compromise candidate was selected in October 1241. This elderly man took the name Celestine IV. His health had been adversely affected by the conditions of the conclave. After a reign of seventeen days, Celestine died. During Celestine's term, some of the remaining cardinals fled Rome to the town of Anagni. Cardinal Colonna remained in Rome, a prisoner of Frederick's enemy, Matteo Orsini. One other cardinal, Sinibaldo d'Fieschi, remained in Rome as he was sympathetic to Orsini. The rest of the cardinals opened negotiations with Frederick. These negotiations took a year and a half. During this time, the other rulers in western Christendom became more upset over the lack of a pope, and blamed Frederick. Frederick eventually gave in and released the cardinals he was holding. This resulted in the election, on June 25, 1243, of Sinbaldo d'Fieschi, who took the name Innocent IV. Innocent IV was a member of a Genoese noble family that was in the habit of sending younger sons into the church. He had been a canon lawyer and long-time associate of Gregory IX's. His family was thought to be Ghibelline in sympathy. Frederick's initial reaction was favorable to Innocent's elections. He sent an embassy to negotiate an end to his own excommunication. Innocent initially refused to meet the delegation, prompting Frederick's remark that "No Pope can be a Ghibelline."

After an incident in the Papal States where a supporter of Innocent, Cardinal Rainer of Viterbo, initiated a massacre of defeated imperial

troops after safe conduct was assured, Innocent opened negotiations with Frederick in early 1244 in Rome. An agreement was announced during Easter week at a grand conference of all parties. The agreement was to turn back the clock on territorial matters in Italy to Palm Sunday 1239, the date of Frederick's latest excommunication. The pope had several spiritual conditions, to which Frederick agreed. Frederick was to support Louis IX of France on his crusade. Innocent had more conditions to impose regarding Lombardy which displeased Frederick, but Frederick felt he could charm the pope at their meeting set for June 1244 to finalize their agreement. Pope Innocent IV started off from Rome for the meeting place in Narni, but appears to have decided never to meet with the emperor. In a well-executed escape from his meeting with Frederick, he secretly went to the port of Civitaveccia, about thirty-five miles northwest of Rome. There he was picked up by a Genoese galley and taken to his hometown. Innocent stayed three months in Genoa due to illness, then intended to go to France to put more pressure on Louis IX to support him. Louis would not allow the pope to enter French territory, steering him to the town of Lyons. Even though Lyons was nominally part of the Holy Roman Empire, Innocent felt secure enough there in December 1244 to call for a general council of the church to meet in Lyons in June 1245. The subject of the council would be the status of the emperor.

Frederick sent his leading legal advisor to the council as his representative. The Council of Lyons opened on June 25, 1245. The pope spoke on June 28, running through the long list of charges against Frederick. The council was attended by Italian, French and Spanish clerics. German clerics did not attend, showing their continuing loyalty Frederick inspired in Germany. Frederick's representative replied by asking the pope to honor the Rome agreement, and promising that the emperor would act against enemies in the east. The main point of this presentation was to show that the emperor was willing to talk, and back up the talk with action. Frederick wanted to show that it was the pope who was unwilling to negotiate. Frederick was moving his army through the Piedmont region of Italy in the summer of 1245, but had not crossed the mountains to approach Lyons. On July 14, 1245, Pope Innocent IV pronounced sentence on Frederick. Innocent declared Frederick deposed from all thrones and stripped off all titles. Innocent took this action as pope, not on behalf of the council. Such an action had been taken before, by Pope Innocent III against Emperor Otto IV. At that time, Frederick had been the beneficiary. Now, it was war to the end against the emperor and, in the normal medieval way, against his entire Hohenstaufen family. Pope Innocent characterized the

Hohenstaufen as “a race of vipers.”

How could the papacy enforce its decree of deposition? Frederick was king of Sicily and Holy Roman emperor, and he had many supporters in Lombardy and the Papal States. Some of the extremists in the Curia wanted to call for a crusade against the emperor. Innocent would not go that far. The theory was accepted within the Curia that the now-deposed emperor was an illegitimate ruler who was a tyrant. Many people in the Kingdom were upset with the heavy taxation there, and the increasing economic control Frederick exerted over his domain. There were many Guelf supporters in Lombardy. The Curia hoped this was fertile ground for decisive action. A conspiracy against Frederick’s life was discovered in early 1246. Frederick was in Tuscany when informed of the conspiracy. All participants in the conspiracy who were caught were sentenced to death and executed. Two prominent conspirators fled to Rome, where they were protected by papal representatives. The leader of the conspiracy was an old confidant of Frederick who was the pope’s brother-in-law. Frederick felt that this conspiracy had been hatched at the highest levels of the Church. There was a minor movement to elect a new emperor in Germany in 1246, but that ended in early 1247. Frederick secured support in Savoy by marrying his illegitimate son Manfred to the daughter of the ruler of Savoy. Papal troops raised in Lyons could not cross the Alps because the duke of Savoy supported Frederick and controlled the passes.

The Wheel of Fortune, a favorite medieval metaphor for the vagaries of life, had Frederick in a very good position in early summer of 1247. The wheel would soon turn. Papal forces took over the town of Parma, which commanded the Arno valley and access from Lombardy to Tuscany. Frederick had planned to go to Germany, but decided instead to lead his troops and take Parma. He besieged Parma starting in late summer 1247. When it became clear to Frederick in early autumn 1247 that the siege of Parma would be a long one, he made his camp in a unique way. Frederick ordered construction of a town, named Victoria, within sight of Parma, and made clear that Victoria would replace Parma after its destruction. Before that, Victoria was a camp. Frederick put his court treasury, library, traveling harem and animal menagerie in Victoria, which was surrounded by the imperial army. The siege of Parma continued until February 1248. Both sides observed the other and looked for any break that could change the status quo. The break came when Frederick indulged his passion for hunting. The Parmesans learned that Frederick had gone on a hunting expedition in the middle of February. They sent a sortie out of Parma which drew the remaining imperial forces out of Victoria. The rest of

the forces of Parma, joined by most of the residents, rushed the short distance to Victoria and overwhelmed the remaining garrison. Victoria was sacked and destroyed. Frederick lost his imperial treasury, and the imperial crown was captured and exhibited in Parma's cathedral. Victoria was the worst military defeat suffered by Frederick. There were small battles outside Parma, which Frederick won. But he could not take the city, and eventually lifted the siege.

Pope Innocent tried to entice high born nobles to take Frederick's place as emperor, but found no takers. While Frederick remained in the kingdom, the military situation in all his domains improved. Frederick, who was elderly by medieval standards, suffered ill health in 1249 and spent most of 1250 recovering. His military lieutenants in central Italy, Lombardy and Germany all scored victories that turned the Wheel of Fortune in his favor. These victories caused consternation on the papal side. All the defeated forces clamored for money, which the pope supplied. This emptied the papal treasury and led Innocent to impose ever larger demands for money on churches in areas not controlled by Frederick, which was slow in coming. Furthermore, King Louis IX of France had gone on crusade to Egypt in late 1248, and in April 1250 he and his army were captured by the Egyptians. After his release, Louis sent his brothers to Innocent in late 1250 to insist he make peace with the emperor. Innocent was so uncertain of his position in Lyon he asked King Henry of England about taking sanctuary there. Even after these reverses, and after the opprobrium Innocent was receiving regarding the failed crusade, the pope would not negotiate with the emperor. He stated this to a group of Tuscan nobles in Lyon on December 7, 1250.

By December 1250, Frederick had recovered his health and his political position. He had spent the year in the kingdom, keeping up with the administration there and indulging in his love for hunting in his favorite province, Apulia. He was feeling fit late in the year. However, while on the road in December, Frederick fell ill with dysentery. He was trying to get to his palace in Foggia when he died in the town of Fiorentino on December 13, 1250, less than two weeks short of his fifty-sixth birthday. Two responses to this death show the opposite attitudes to Frederick. His illegitimate son Manfred, who was present at the deathbed, wrote his half-brother Conrad: "The sun of justice has gone down; the author of peace has passed away." Pope Innocent's reaction was "Let heaven exult and the earth rejoice." The papal chaplain, Nicholas of Carbio, gave vent to the high polemic generally used in this conflict by writing:

> At length God, from his sacred throne on high, seeing the bard of

> Peter foundering in the waves and being dashed to pieces by various oppressions and misfortunes, snatched away, in the midst of life, the tyrant and son of Satan, Frederick…. Who died horribly, deposed and excommunicated, suffering excruciatingly from dysentery, gnashing his teeth, frothing at the mouth, and screaming, at the castle Fiorentino in Apulia, in the year of our Lord 1250 [Bressler, p.185].

Frederick's body was taken from Fiorentino to Palermo, where it was laid to rest beside the body of his first wife, Constance. The tombs are still in the cathedral of Palermo. It is clear that Frederick would have been happy being buried in a consecrated area. He considered himself to be a good Catholic. He was able to convince most of the clergy that served in areas he ruled of this. Frederick participated in religious services throughout his life, and felt the spiritual side of life should be in the hands of the Roman Catholic Church. He disagreed with church policy on many things. Frederick treated other religions with respect, not trying to convert Muslims or Jews in his domains. Frederick allowed open inquiry into natural processes, which was restricted by the Church. Frederick's conflict with the papacy was political in nature. Frederick was able to hold his own in this conflict. Our modern view is that Frederick was in the right because we are used to separation of church and state. The attitude was different then. The papal exercise of political power that had effectively started with Innocent III continued until 1870. Political leaders, particularly in the Italian Peninsula, had to continually deal with this fact. Now we will move onto another facet of religious life that originated in these times.

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21

1252—The Development of European Universities and Thomas Aquinas

Higher education did not begin in the 1200s. Training of priests and scribes was done in the earliest civilizations, but in the temple or palace. Confucius was a revered teacher in China. After his death, schools were established to train the scholars needed to serve the Chinese state. Sophists were active in Athens by the 5th century bce teaching students on an individual basis. Advanced Athenian educational institutions had been around since the Academy founded by Plato and the Lyceum founded by Aristotle. Other schools developed in different parts of the world to serve the desire for advanced education. In India, there was a Buddhist school, often called a university, at Nalanda which went back to the period just after the life of the Buddha. In Iran under the Sasanid rulers, there was an Academy of Gondeshapur for higher education. In Egypt, there still exists Al-azhar University, which can claim to be the oldest continuously operating university in the world. In the Muslim world of the Middle Ages there were several other universities. Two were in Baghdad, the universities of Nizamiyah and Mustansiriyah. Other prominent Muslim universities were in Spain. These institutions were crucial in preserving ancient culture and knowledge.

What we now think of in the western world as a university developed in Europe between the 11th and 13th century. There were two tracks of development of universities in Europe. One started in Italy, the other in France. These two developmental tracks remained separate until after the 13th century. The Italian model started first as a university in Bologna in the late 11th century. The French model started in Paris in the 12th century. This type of institution was the model for the rest of Europe until the two styles meshed in the 14th century. Both kinds of institutions arose to meet a practical need. The rising prosperity of Europe in the 11th century created a need for educated servants of government, business, and the church.

Since the foundation of monasteries in Europe, there had been monastery schools. These were only open to the monks, and solely concerned with religious education. Some monks in the early middle

ages were the equivalent of ancient scribes, having secured the rare talent of literacy. Up through the ninth century, monks dominated positions that required literacy. By the ninth and tenth centuries, there were several Studiums throughout Europe. A Studium was a gathering of students around teachers. Mostly these were for professional training, such as law and medicine. The center of medical training in the tenth century was Salerno in Italy. Salerno developed into the leading medical school in Europe in the 11th and 12th century before declining in the late 13th century. Legal training in Italy was conducted at several places in northern Italy before coalescing in Bologna. Cathedral schools in northern France arose during this time. Examples of cathedral schools were at Chartres, Laon, Rhiems, and Tours in France, and Lincoln and York in England. There was a cathedral school in Paris as well. The institution of the university grew out of the legal school at Bologna and the cathedral school at Paris.

The need for healers is a constant in human history. Once the position of medical doctor was established, there was always a demand for them. Becoming a medical doctor was potentially just as lucrative in the medieval world as it is in the modern world. The region of Salerno abounded in mineral springs. As these springs were considered therapeutic since Roman times, doctors gathered in Salerno to use these springs for treatment. By the tenth century, the doctors had established a medical school in Salerno. This was a fortunate site, since Salerno was a crossroads of civilizations. Latin, Greek, Arab, and Jewish cultures met and mingled there. The leading available medical authorities were studied, such as Hippocrates, Galen, and the leading Muslim figures. Salerno was not proclaimed a university until 1231, by which time it was declining. But the form and need for medical training was first established there, and this method spread throughout the new universities.

When one reads about the Roman Empire, the consensus is that the greatest strength of this empire was law and order. The Roman genius was legalistic. There was a burgeoning demand for lawyers in northern Italian cities by the 11th century. These cities were the most prosperous places in Europe. Trade was growing. Business was growing. Both these activities required people knowledgeable in the law to grow. This demand was being met by lawyers in the northern Italian towns of Ravenna, Pavia and Bologna. By 1100 there was word of a great law professor of Bologna. There are various dates given for the foundation of Bologna, but it is clear that the law school at Bologna operated throughout the 12th century. The students coming to Bologna were different from the students at Paris and other northern universities. Students wishing for instruction in law were

older, and usually richer. The students held the upper hand at Bologna, choosing the teachers and setting conditions to the townspeople. When the townspeople of Bologna were deemed by the students to have overcharged the students for lodging, food, and drink, the students would pack up and leave. This happened because students not native to Bologna (the vast majority) had no rights in Bologna. The students left for Vicenza in 1204, for Arezzo in 1215, for Padua in 1222. Each time the town of Bologna gave in to student demands, due to the economic importance of the students. By this time, the students were running the university, which remained the case for several centuries.

There was a school of the Arts at Bologna. The school of Law was the great draw. It was divided into Civil and Canon Law Universities. The secular nature of Civil Law aroused the suspicion of the church. Emperor Frederick Barbarossa issued an edict to protect this study in 1158. A graduate of this course would become a doctor of Civil Law, and looked forward to either a lucrative practice or service with a secular ruler. Canon Law was populated by clerics. These were men hoping to rise in the bureaucracy of the Church. After the protection issued by Barbarossa, and the economic dependence of the town on the students, the University of Bologna could negotiate local protections from the town of Bologna. Other universities around Europe followed the lead of Bologna in securing protections for the students. As Bologna was the model for legal education for the rest of Europe, and civil legal education has not changed much, we will leave Bologna here to look at Paris.

Paris was home to the leading religious scholars of Europe in 1252. It had been this way since the early 1100s. The University of Paris grew out of the cathedral school of Paris. Young men with a passion for learning from all over Europe had been traveling to northern France to go to cathedral schools since the early 11th century. These young men would go to one teacher for a while then move on to other teachers until they either started a working life, or became some kind of teacher themselves. By the early 1100s, Paris was established as the leading cathedral school, mostly due to the teacher Peter Abelard. Abelard was the leading exponent of Logic and Dialectic of his time. After a well-known affair with his private student Heloise, Abelard had to cease teaching in Paris. By this time the numbers of students had outgrown the confines of the cathedral schools. This gradually led to the founding of the University of Paris around 1200.

The word universitas in the 13th century had no specific application to what we now call a university. A universitas connoted any

corporate body with an independent juridical status. What we now call the University of Paris was called by several other names during the 13th century. All or part of that entity was called universitas, collegium, consortium, procurator, or syndicus. The University of Paris was legally recognized as a universitas in 1215. It had been operating before this recognition. Becoming a legally recognized universitas established its independent existence. The head of the university in its earliest days was the Chancellor, who was originally appointed by the bishop of Paris as head of the cathedral school. The Chancellor had autocratic power over the masters and students. After many complaints and abuses, this power was stripped by Pope Honorius III in 1219, and the masters were given the right to govern themselves. Whenever there was a problem at the university, protection was requested from either the Pope or the King. This dual nature was unique to Paris. Italian universities had nothing to do with the Pope and concentrated on secular training. Problems between students and townspeople had to be dealt with by the local authorities anyplace there was a university. But because Paris became the theological center of Europe, the Pope was involved in any academic disputes.

As we saw in Bologna, disputes between townspeople and students were part of the story. After the death of several students in a tavern brawl, King Phillip II issued a charter in 1200 giving the scholars of Paris some important exemptions from local prosecution. Another royal decree in 1210 specified the crimes for which a scholar could be arraigned. The students at Paris were a younger and rowdier bunch than at Bologna, so riots and turbulence were never far away. The bishop of Paris excommunicated the university in 1219 due to the need to put down armed bands of scholars who were threatening the peace of the city. During the pre-lenten carnival of 1229, another series of riots broke out in city taverns. The Queen Regent of France ordered in troops, who killed and wounded some students. Masters suspended lectures, and after Easter masters and students decided to leave the city. This desertion lasted two years, with some students going to other French schools and some going to England. The rights and immunities granted in the aftermath of this dispute mostly kept the peace until the dispute between mendicants and seculars in 1254.

By 1252, the university had migrated to the Left Bank of the Seine, where it remains. Students were the largest population group there, particularly in the Latin Quarter. Students were limited to men and these men had to be members of the clergy. Most first year Arts students were fourteen or so. The students in the Arts courses were divided into four “Nations.” These were groupings of students and

masters. The four nations were: French, the largest which consisted of men from the Île-de-France and foreigners from southern Europe; Picard, men from five provinces of northern France, Belgium and the Netherlands; Norman, men from Normandy and Brittany; English-German, men from everywhere else. These were mostly social groupings necessary to aid such young people living in a strange and new environment. The main prerequisite for entry to this university was ability to speak and write Latin, hence the Latin Quarter.

All classes would be held in Paris. The University owned no buildings in 1252. The Nations rented rooms or buildings in the area of the rue de Fouarre (Straw Street) where lectures would be held. The Nations raised the money to do this with fees collected from the students. While most students came from families that could afford paying the fees and expenses of college, there were poor scholars who received help even in 1252. The arts course at the university lasted six years. This course had two parts. The first two years, the student was a pupil only. After passing a “determination,” the student would become a Bachelor. The last four years, the student took courses while being required to do some teaching himself. This four years, just like at a modern university, could last as long as the student wanted. There were professional students then, just like today. Once the student wished to present himself for examination, he took the initiative and a board of examiners was appointed by the Chancellor to examine him. This was done privately with an oral examination. These examinations were subject to normal human variety. Bribery or influence from nobles to help out was known to happen. Very few students who presented themselves for this degree were failed. If one did not pass, the examination could be repeated at the end of the year. Usually the failed student had a friend try to influence the Chancellor or spend a little money on presents to relatives of the Chancellor. This usually worked. Once passed, the student would be licensed as a Master of Arts. That was not the end. The Master would have to present himself Masters of his own Nation. He had to be admitted into the Guild of Masters. If he was, he was now a full-fledged Master. Then he could hire a hall and start looking for students.

The student at Paris had his choice of masters. Masters would go out and look for students, because their livelihood depended on having full classes. Masters would search for students themselves, and have agents prowling the neighborhood when new students arrived. The learning was based on the trivium, the first three of the seven liberal arts that had survived from antiquity. The trivium consisted of Grammar, Rhetoric, and Logic. Grammar was studied through texts of Donatus and Prician, which had been written before 500. Grammar

was a series of rules taught through lecture. Rhetoric was taught the same way, even though as the study of style and proper phrasing it should have been more involving. Neither Grammar nor Rhetoric was important at Paris. At Bologna, Rhetoric was important and carefully studied, as lawyers had to publicly plead as they do today. At Paris, Logic was all-important. The main text for this was the Logic of Aristotle. By 1252, Aristotle was the dominant source of material in this area. Logic and Dialectic, along with Philosophy, used the new translations of Aristotle and the commentaries on Aristotle coming from Spain. There had been a ban, mostly observed in the breach, on Aristotle before 1231. After 1231, Aristotle became the dominant source in Logic and Philosophy. All these courses were taught by lecture. The Master would hire a hall or use a room in a building hired by his Nation. The Master would either sit or stand at a lectern and read and comment on the work being taught. The students would sit on the straw covered floor and do what students do. Copies of lecture notes exist from this period. One would assume there were students who slept or drank as well. Books were too expensive for use by each individual student. There was a small library, but it was expected that learning would come from lectures, not books. This is the summary of what we would call undergraduate study at Paris. We will now go on to graduate study.

As is true today, some students wanted to continue their education after securing a degree. At Paris, there was a choice of courses for graduate study. Originally there were four tracks: Civil Law, Canon Law, Medicine, and Theology. The Civil Law course was banned soon after it was announced in the early 13th century. Papal support was necessary to Paris, and when Pope Innocent III said he would withdraw support if Civil Law remained on the curriculum, Civil Law was dropped. Canon Law teaching followed the lead of Bologna. Paris had a poor reputation for Canon Law. Bologna was the home of serious study of Canon Law, and other universities in France were more attractive to the serious scholar. But the Paris school was well attended. Clergy who lived in the provinces and wished to move up the ecclesiastical ladder liked going to the capital for this purpose. The course was fairly easy (particularly in comparison to Theology), and the granting of degrees was corrupt. There was keen competition for teaching jobs in Canon Law, because regent Masters there could retire at an early age with a good amount of money. The Church tried and failed to prevent the purchase of these degrees, which could be granted after four years of study. Paris had a medical school. The leading medical schools in Europe in 1252 were in Salerno, Montpelier, and Padua. Some of these southern schools obtained

special dispensations to dissect criminals every year or so. Paris was not interested. But since becoming a doctor could be lucrative, this medical school was well attended. The course lasted six years. These graduate schools had a poor reputation. That was not true of the remaining graduate school.

The School of Theology was the crowning glory of the University of Paris in 1252. Very few other universities possessed even the basics of a Theology school. Popes discouraged other universities in an attempt to give Paris an absolute monopoly. The Papacy wished to concentrate this study in one center, where it could be readily observed and protected from contamination. Even with these protections, there were changes in attitude during the first half of the 13th century that caused massive changes in the Theology school. Theology was called the “Queen of Sciences” by the understandably prejudiced Catholic Church. The University of Paris was unquestionably pre-eminent in Theology in 1252.

The course of study in Theology was developing in the 13th century. At the start of the 13th century, one could not start in Theology school until he had secured a Master of Arts. One could not start Theology school until he was over twenty-one. The course of study at the start of the 13th century was eight years. By the middle of the 14th century, this same course was sixteen years. In both cases, one could not become a Doctor of Theology until he was thirty-five years old. As we will see, there was a significant exception to this. At the start of the course in Theology, a student in 1252 would be expected to spend five years to secure a Bachelor of Theology, then three more years to secure a Doctorate. As one might expect, most of the students were older than the Arts students by quite a bit. The Church encouraged its best and brightest to attend this course of study. It was hoped that these students would lead the Church, both as high episcopal officers and intellectual leaders.

The lectures in the School of Theology were similar to the Arts courses in form. A Master (or Bachelor) would lecture on the required texts. In the Theology course in 1252, the students would hear lectures on the Bible for the first four years. Students who had been there longer than four years would hear lectures on the Sentences of Peter Lombard. That’s the sum total of books discussed in lectures. After the first two years, a bachelor candidate had to do the lectures on the Bible himself to younger students. At various times, the student would have to take part in a disputation acting as a respondent to a question posed by a master and his position would be opposed by students senior to him. Before his final disputation, the student would have given a public

lecture to the Faculty on each one of the four chapters of the Sentences. The student would have participated in other student's disputations, preached an occasional University sermon, and participated in normal student life. The final disputation was known as the Sorbonic disputation, and took place in the Hall of the Sorbonne. The Bachelor stood alone on a platform from six am to six pm with an hour's break for lunch. Relays of opponents disputed with him on many questions from their reading. There was a large audience for this disputation, and while this process was serious for the student participants, it was entertainment for the students not participating. But if the Bachelor passed this he became eligible to become a Doctor of Theology. There was an examination by the Masters, but that had to do with the candidate's record of attendance, character, and morals. In 1252, there would have been more candidates for this doctorate than there were openings on the Faculty. As passing someone as a Doctor of Theology practically guaranteed him a teaching post at Paris, not too many passed. In 1252, the number of chairs in Theology was limited by Papal decree. This changed at later dates, when other school had Theology schools and by the 15th century virtually all candidates passed.

Logic ruled in all these arguments. The whole science of Theology was an elaborate syllogism used to unveil the truths of Catholic faith. When we look at it now, it seems the arguments are about unnecessary subjects. An example is in the Summa of a leading theologian, Albertus Magnus. "Here are three questions he puts and then subjects to logical analysis: What is the interior structure of Paradise? What do angels do with the bodies of which they have made use to fulfill a mission on earth? What was the color of the Virgin's skin?" (Schachner, p. 138). These theological problems seemed to leave little room for passionate belief. But at the time, the Doctors of Theology at Paris were considered the intellectual leaders of the Catholic Church. Some of these doctors were legitimately brilliant, as the person we will discuss below.

A major dispute in 1252 at all existing universities was the growing presence of the mendicant orders. Two popular mendicant orders were founded in the early 13th century, the Dominicans and the Franciscans. Soon after their establishment, the Dominicans saw the need to participate in higher education, as the Dominican's reason for being was to fight heresy. It took longer for the Franciscans to discover this need, but by 1252 both orders were well entrenched in all universities. By the end of the 13th century, the universities operating in Europe were:

European University Foundations, 1088–1290

Bologna	1088
Paris	1150
Oxford	1167
Salerno	1173
Palenzia	1178
Reggio	1188
Vicenza	1204
Cambridge	1209
Salamanca	1218
Padua	1222
Naples	1224
Vercelli	1228
Toulouse	1229
Valladolid	1237
Seville	1254
Arezzo	1255
Monpelier	1289
Lisbon	1290

When the Dominicans (in 1217) and Franciscans (in 1219) first arrived in Paris, they did not seek entry into the university. Both orders established their own schools for their own members. By 1252, the schools of the friars had been folded into the University, and friars dominated the faculty of the Theology school. The secular masters of the theological faculty responded in 1252 by passing a statute to control the admission of the mendicants. The act was expressly designed to end the proliferation of masters of theology. This act was approved by Pope Innocent IV, but was then overturned after Innocent's death by his successor, Pope Alexander IV. The dispute between the University and the Papacy about the friars would last throughout Alexander's term of office. The main difficulty for the priests was the different status of the friars. The friars lived at a convent owned by their order, and were fed there as well. The friars had a distinct economic advantage over such a long course of study.

The priests were fighting a losing battle against the friars. A prime example of this was the greatest of the Dominican scholars of this century, Thomas Aquinas.

Tomasso d'Aquino (who is known as Thomas Aquinas) was born around 1224 as the youngest son of a leading noble family in northern reaches of the Kingdom of Sicily. His ancestry was a typical stew for a leading noble, having Norman, Italian and German ancestors. His family backed the emperor in the dispute between emperor and pope. Thomas' father and six older brothers fought when needed in these disputes. As a youth, Thomas showed that he would rather read than fight. His parents gave him to Monte Cassino, the great Benedictine monastery in the neighborhood, hoping he would eventually become the abbot there, a fitting office for a younger son of a leading noble. When Thomas was eighteen, all the monks in training at Monte Cassino moved to the University of Naples to escape the constant fighting around Monte Cassino. While at Naples, two major events happened in Thomas' life. Naples was the first place in Europe outside Spain where Latin translations to all Aristotle's surviving works became available. Thomas used all of Aristotle to construct his own philosophy. Thomas also left the Benedictines for the Dominicans. The Dominicans recognized Thomas' brilliance, and sent him to their annual general chapter (meeting) in Bologna. En route, Thomas was kidnapped by his older brothers and taken back to family castle. He was kept captive for about a year before he convinced his mother of his total commitment to the Dominicans. She released him back to the order.

In 1245, Thomas was sent to the University of Paris. He lived at the Paris convent of the Dominicans and studied under Albertus Magnus. Albertus was a leading scholar with a wide range of interests outside of academic philosophy. The newly available works of Aristotle, mostly having to do with the natural world, were now available at Paris. Thomas was one of the leaders of trying to reconcile Christian thought with Aristotle's philosophy. The Church tried to block the study of these works. This ban was unsuccessful. During the next three years, Thomas was part of the movement to increase the use of Aristotle's works at Paris. In 1248, Albertus Magnus was transferred to assume direction of the new convent school for Dominicans at Cologne. Thomas went along and continued his studies there. Albertus was a leading light in the move to establish "natural philosophy," what we now call science. Albertus wrote a book called *De natura rerum* (On the Nature of Things) which was a summary of his knowledge of the natural world. He was a fine botanist, and knew enough of the processes of nature that some peasants thought of him

as a sorcerer. Albertus was impressed enough with Thomas to become his supporter. Thomas was a very large man, and his student colleagues called Thomas the “Dumb Ox of Sicily.” Albertus told them, “You call him a Dumb Ox; I tell you this Dumb Ox shall bellow so loud that his bellowing will fill the world” (Cahill, p. 208–9). Albertus recommended him to Paris as an instructor in Theology. Paris accepted him as a Bachelor who could try to get his Doctorate. Thomas arrived back in Paris in 1252.

This is an example of the different treatment of friars. Thomas had not completed the Arts course at Paris. He had learned much from Albertus, and the powers in Paris decided this learning was enough to admit him to the Theology school. Universities gave consideration to the training at Dominican or Franciscan schools. Thomas started the Theology course in 1252, and was granted his license to teach and Doctorate in 1256. This made him younger than the thirty-five-year-old minimum. Thomas’ brilliance was recognized throughout his life. In 1256 Thomas started teaching Theology at Paris. He remained there until 1259, when he was called to serve in the Papal Curia. He served in the Curia until 1268. In November 1268 he was sent to Paris. In 1272 he returned to Naples, teaching at the university there until his death in 1274.

Thomas read all the Aristotle that was available, and also the commentaries on Aristotle by Averroes, the leading Arabic philosopher from Spain. Works by Averroes were coming to France and Italy in translation in the early 13th century. Thomas claimed that he read these two authors, and that he “understood every page I ever read.” Thomas used his deep knowledge of Aristotle’s logic in his many writings. He used the dialectic method of logic pioneered by Abelard to go through questions of faith and knowledge. Thomas was a pious Christian, and never lost his faith through this process of trying to make sense of the natural world. Thomas’ philosophical positions were not too different from Abelard’s. They both felt that the natural world should be studied separate from religious beliefs. Abelard’s assertion of this was so abrasive that he got into serious trouble with the Church, spending his last days under the protection of a friendly abbot after his excommunication. Thomas’ method of assertion was much gentler, often using the phrase “as far as I can see.” But even these mild assertions, which were compiled at the end of his life into his major work, the Summa Theologica, caused problems for Thomas. The philosophy espoused by Thomas, as well as Albertus, was being condemned by the theological faculty at Paris. Thomas returned to Paris in 1268 to dispute this condemnation. As often happens, he had a follower on the faculty who went further than

he wished. Siger of Brabant went beyond Thomas' assertions to proclaim Averroes' wholly rational explanations of the world. Thomas disowned Siger, and rational Averroism was condemned in 1270 at the University. This led to an eventual condemnation of Thomas in 1277. The main point of this dispute was that Thomas' method of logically determining the existence of God was invalid.

Thomas was never anything but a pious Catholic. He used the newly discovered knowledge to expand man's knowledge of the world. He never denied the existence of God, feeling there were two planes of existence, natural and supernatural. After about 50 years of dispute, the Catholic Church came around to Thomas' point of view. He was canonized as St. Thomas Aquinas in 1323, and his philosophy proclaimed as orthodox by the church in the 19th century. The impact of Thomas was cited by his first biographer, who knew him. William of Tocco says: "Brother Thomas raised new problems in his teaching, invented a new method, used new systems of proof. To hear him teach a new doctrine, with new arguments, one could not doubt that God, by the irradiation of this new light and by the novelty of this inspiration, gave him the power to teach, by the spoken and written word, new opinions and new knowledge" (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 18, p. 348). These were the first steps to gaining knowledge of the world through our senses, rather than just through handed down knowledge.

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22

1256—The Elimination of the Assassins in Iran

After the death of the Mongol Great Khan Ogedai in 1241, the new Great Khan was not named until 1246. So, who ruled the Mongol empire during this time? The answer was a surprise to all the outside chroniclers who reported on it. There was a regent, Ogedai's wife Torgene. Ogedai had selected one of his sons by another wife as successor, but that son died in the war against the Sung in 1236. Ogedai then wished for his grandson Shiramon to be selected. Torgene wanted her son by Ogedai, Guyuk, to be selected. She used the time of her regency to arrange Guyuk's election. Torgene's regency seemed to be a reversal of the normal order of things to Chinese and Muslim members of the court. During her regency, changes that happen during a change of regime took place. Genghis' minister Yeliu Chu-tsai was dismissed, and died in 1244. He was replaced by a Muslim, Abd al-Rahman, who promised to double her tax income. Torgene had a favorite who was raised to a position of prominence at the court. This was Fatima, who had been a servant in Torgene's household. A Persian chronicler showed his distaste for women in politics with his description of Fatima who "became the sharer of intimate confidences and the depository of hidden secrets" (Weatherford, p. 95). Torgene's position as regent was always shaky. Her main pillar of support was Chagatai, one of Genghis's sons. Chagatai was the khan of Central Asia, and was always in conflict with Batu of the Golden Horde. Chagatai was the shield that allowed Torgene to maneuver to get her son elected Great Khan. This occurred at a quiriltai called in 1246.

There was an account written of the quiriltai of 1246. The witness was Friar John of Plano Carpini, a Franciscan sent by Pope Innocent IV as the bearer of pontifical letters entreating the Mongols to attack other nations no longer and to become Christians. Friar John said there were more than four thousand rulers and envoys from rulers at the quiriltai, ranging from western Russia to Korea. Guyuk accepted the Great Khanate on the condition that the office became hereditary in his line. Friar John noted the toleration of all religions at the quiriltai. Christian mass was celebrated, in the Nestorian rite. There were many Muslims, Buddhists, Chinese, and shamanists at the meeting. The Mongols at this point were following the policy of Genghis Khan, and

allowing all religions to exist and not using religion as a reason for enmity. This would soon change. Friar John reported that Subodei was alive, even though he did not meet Subodei. Subodei had retired after returning from the European campaign. Friar John reported that Subodei was the most admired and famous of Mongol generals. It is a comment on the various sources that they cannot agree on where Subodei retired. One says he returned to the Danube, keeping in touch with his son and grandson who were in Batu's army. Another says he went to the Kerulen River in southern Siberia to be near where he grew up. In either case, he lived as a Mongol his last few years, keeping a herd of cattle and living in a yurt. Subodei died at age seventy-three. Muslim chroniclers noted that at the time of his death, Subodei "had conquered thirty-two nations and won sixty-five pitched battles." This was a record of military accomplishment that equaled his chief, Genghis Khan.

Guyuk was a short-lived Great Khan. His initial actions were to clean house from his mother's regency. Torgene died soon after Guyuk's election. Guyuk then prosecuted Fatima. After terrible tortures which elicited the confession of anything and everything, she was executed. Guyuk had Abd al-Rahman, his mother's finance minister, put to death for embezzlement. Guyuk gave a reply to the Pope, which he sent west with Friar John. The message was not encouraging to Christians. Guyuk invited the Pope and Christian princes to come to Karakorum and offer him homage. Guyuk had serious disagreements with Batu. Guyuk felt that the Golden Horde was becoming too independent. He intended to confront Batu on the battlefield and move on to Europe. Batu was warned of this by his aunt. Sorkhokhani sent word to Batu of the gathering army, and its intention. Batu marched east to meet this force. Guyuk was on the march to meet Batu when Guyuk died in April 1248.

There was another three-year interregnum before a new Great Khan was elected. The main powers in the Mongol heartland were two women. Guyuk's widow, Oghul Ghaimish, tried to function as regent the same way Torgene had. There are few sources about Oghul Ghaimish. She met with a Dominican friar, Andrew of Longumeau. She told Andrew that there would be no peace unless they made peace with us (the Mongols). As Oghul was the loser in the power struggle, comments about her are mostly negative. One Western envoy reported that the new Great Khan had called her the worst kind of witch. Even with these obstacles, Oghul Ghaimish held the regency until July 1251. Oghul was opposed by Sorkhokhani. Sorkhokhani was the widow of Tului, the youngest son of Genghis by his favorite wife. Sorkhokhani had four sons by Tului. After Tului's death, she refused

offers and orders to marry so she could devote herself to her sons. During the regency of Oghul, Sorkhokhani allied herself to Batu. Batu had no reason to like anything about Guyuk's family after their dispute. Batu backed the line of Tului for the office of Great Khan. After a lot of maneuvering, a quiriltai was called for summer 1251. On July 1, 1251, Sorkhokhani's oldest son Mongke was named Great Khan.

After his ascension to the throne, Mongke and Sorkhokhani spent the next year and a half purging the court of their enemies. As often happens, once such a purge destroys its original targets, it is difficult to stop the process. Many personal grievances resulted in judicial deaths. The imperial family found a compliant judge for this process. His name was Menggeser Noyan, and he was appointed supreme judge of the Mongol Empire. An example of his justice is that the accused had a theoretical right of appeal to the court. Menggeser Noyan decided not to review any of the appeals until after execution of sentence. The family of the Great Khan seized the property of all these victims as well. Sorkhokhani became ill at the beginning of 1252. She was a Nestorian Christian, and thought that her illness might be related to the purge she was conducting. She started to pardon the condemned, but only sparing their lives. The victims still had to turn over their property. Sorkhokhani died in March 1252. The purge halted in late 1252.

Mongke was the eldest of four brothers. All were given large parts of the Mongol empire. As Batu had been of vital importance in naming Mongke Great Khan, Batu retained the area he already held, now part of European Russia, Ukraine and Belarus. The next youngest brother, Hulagu, was given the area south of the Aral Sea, and the parts of Afghanistan and Iran currently held by the Mongols. The next youngest brother, Khubilai, was given the parts of China currently held by the Mongols. The youngest son, Arik Boke, received the Mongolian heartland. Mongke was the Great Khan, ruler of all these realms. After a meeting of the brothers in 1253, the decision was made on how to expand the Khanate. Mongke and Khubilai would continue the conquest of China. Arik Boke and Batu would hold their areas, and expand if any possibilities arose. Hulagu was given the task of driving through Iran to Mesopotamia and Egypt. We will cover the conquest of China later, and now follow Hulagu on his drive through Iran.

The drive west through Iran had two goals. Two political entities were considered threats to the Mongols. One was the Abbasid Caliphate. The other was the Order of the Assassins. This order was a radical sect

of Shiite Islam. The founder of the order was Hassan-I Sabbah. Hassan was born in Quom, Iran, a stronghold of Shiite Islam. After determining he wished to be a religious leader, or imam, Hassan made his way to Cairo. There he became an adherent of Ismaili Islam. This was the radical branch of Shiite Islam, as opposed to the moderate branch that is now the state religion of Iran. The rulers of Egypt in the late 11th century were the Fatimid Caliphs, who were adherents of Ismaili Islam. Hassan studied this religion, and decided to preach in his home country. He left Egypt in 1081 and spent nine years preaching in Iran. Hassan decided that he needed a secure stronghold to preach and then implement his vision of this sect. He found the area he wanted in far northern Iran, just south of the Caspian Sea. This is a rugged, mountainous area that has sufficient fertile lowlands that can supply small communities based in inaccessible castles. Through a ruse, Hassan secured the castle of Alamut. He had been preaching in this area, and determined that the area was right for his purpose. This area was independent, never effectively subjugated by the rulers of Iran. Hassan had found his base for his war against the Sunni Muslims.

Hassan entered the castle of Alamut in 1090. He never left the castle the rest of his life, and only went outside on the roof twice before he died in 1124. Hassan secured other castles in this area, the province of Daylam. Ismaili influence spread to the neighboring provinces of Gilan and Mazandaran, which also bordered the south coast of the Caspian. Hassan sent missionaries to the province of Quhistan, which was a remote and mountainous part of current Afghanistan. Hassan now controlled castles in these areas, and was growing in political power. His main opponents were the Sunni Seljuk Turk rulers of this area. These rulers would send military expeditions against the Ismaili strongholds, but these castles could not be taken due to their remoteness. Hassan knew he could not contest military control of any territory with the Seljuk Turks. Hassan sent out preachers he had trained, and many converts were made, particularly in Syria. These religious actions would not accomplish his goal of overturning Sunni domination of Islam. He determined to pursue a policy of assassination.

The first Ismaili murder was of a muezzin who refused to convert. The culprit was caught and executed. The victims of subsequent assassinations held much higher religious and political office than muezzin. The followers of Hassan were called fida'is. He preached to them that if they could carry out his bidding, the assassin would achieve paradise. The first prominent political figure killed was the vizier of the Seljuk Sultan. The vizier, Nizam al-Mulk fell victim to an

assassin disguised as a Sufi (Islamic mystic) while conducting a siege in Iran. This assassination set the pattern. The main targets of Hassan were Sunni leaders. Occasionally he would target a Shiite who disagreed with him. The Ismailis were a secret society. Their secrets have been well kept, only coming to light in fragmentary and confused fashion. There was a roll of honor in Alamut, listing the victims and their hero executioners. This was not seen by any outsiders until after the Ismailis had vacated Alamut.

A mission was sent by Hassan to Syria in the early 12th century. Syria proved to be fertile ground for Ismaili preaching. The first adherents in Syria were concentrated in cities. This was because the missionaries were Persians. Persians were known and welcomed in cities, but not known and feared in the countryside. With the connivance of the ruling elite, Ismailis established themselves in Aleppo by 1113. They were soon eliminated by the Seljuk rulers. This same course of events happened in Damascus, with the Ismailis being eliminated in 1130. After this, the Ismailis sought out remote mountainous parts of Syria and Lebanon. These strongholds were established by the ismailis after 1131. In 1162, the greatest of Assassin chiefs took command in Syria. This was Sinan ibn Salman ibn Muhammad, who became known as the Old Man of the Mountain. Until his death in 1193, Sinan was the shadowy leader of the Assassins against Sunni leaders, Fatimid caliphs, and Frankish princes in the area from Egypt to Iraq. Two assassination attempts were made against Saladin, the ruler who evicted the Crusaders from Jerusalem. Several officers of Saladin's government were killed. In 1192, the Crusader King of Jerusalem was assassinated in Tyre, the first Christian leader to be so victimized.

During the time from the establishment of Alamut in 1090 until Mongke becoming Great Khan in 1251, there had been many variations in policy on the part of the Assassins, and many attempts by Turkish governments in Iran and Syria to eliminate the Assassins. Some of Hassan's successors continued his policy of enmity against Sunni Islam, and some reached accommodation with the Caliph. There were attempts to conquer the land around Alamut, Quhistan, and the fortresses in the Lebanese mountains. All these attempts to conquer Ismaili controlled territory would secure some initial successes in the valleys, but would come to naught when the invaders tried to conquer the fortresses high in the mountains. The hundreds of assassinations attributed to the Assassins made them a political force in the area. But the initial fervor had run its course. Probably many of the later assassinations were not the work of the Assassins, but had more local origination. As all the perpetrators caught were killed, it was not conclusive who had initiated the assassination. By the time of

Mongke's rise to power, the Mongols just wanted to end this problem.

The Assassins issued a threat to Mongke in 1251, saying he would be subject to their justice if he tried to conquer them. Mongke gave his brother Hulagu the task of eliminating the Assassins. Hulagu started his expedition after crossing the Oxus on January 2, 1256. He oversaw the elimination of the Ismailis in Quhistan in early 1256. Hulagu then moved on to the area south of the Caspian, the home base of the Assassins. After establishing sieges against the castles still held by the Assassins, Hulagu defeated any forces in the neighborhood. The current grand master of the Ismailis, Rukn ad-Din Kurshah, was captured away from Alamut on November 19, 1256, and sent under guard to Mongolia. Alamut was captured on December 20, 1256. The Mongols killed everyone reputed to be an Ismaili on this campaign. This incarnation of the Ismaili sect died out after this campaign. The grand master evaded his fate by being killed en route to Mongolia. It was rumored that this was the last effective act of the Assassins. Hulagu established Mongol rule in these areas, and moved on to his next task. We will move along with him.

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1258/60—The Mongols in the Middle East

The next step on Hulagu's agenda was to end the Abbasid Caliphate. This state was based in Baghdad. The state by this time was a mere shadow of its former self. The Abbasid dynasty took over the Caliphate in 750, defeating the Umayyads at a decisive battle near Mosul. Under the Abbasid Caliphate, the combination of Islam and one empire controlling both the religion and political sphere reached its height. The Abbasids relaxed the emphasis on being Arab, and opened the highest reaches of their empire to all nationalities in their empire. The political center shifted from Damascus to Baghdad, moving the focus of power east. This state included many nationalities, as the caliphate at its height spread from the Indus River to Spain. The Abbasids reached their zenith in the mid–ninth century. After that, areas under their political control started to shrink. Originally, the Abbasids had followed the lead of both Muhammad and the Umayyads, using armies of believers to conquer an empire. After a period in power, control of the army shifted to Turkish generals from the steppe. This led to the growth of provincial power, and a weakening of central political authority. In the 11th century, the Seljuk Turks moved into the heartland of Abbasid control, Iraq. The Seljuks took over all political power, but left the Abbasid ruler as Caliph, or ultimate religious authority. For the last couple centuries before 1258, the Caliph had been left in place in Bagdad by various rulers who had political control. In 1257, the Caliph was al-Musta'sim. The area under his political control was the land between the rivers (Tigris and Euphrates) in Iraq, and that was only on sufferance of the Seljuk Turks and the Egyptian Sultan. The Seljuks had already made their own deal with the Mongols, who allowed the Seljuks to stay in place in Anatolia. So, the Mongols task now was to deal with the Caliph and then the Egyptian Sultan.

In November 1257, a part of Hulagu's army moved towards Baghdad from the north. Another force moved from the east, and both forces met at Bagdad in January 1258. On January 17, the small army of the Caliph came out from the walls of Baghdad and was massacred by the Mongols. The city was surrounded, and on February 6 the remaining troops in the city were caught and killed. On February 10, the caliph

came to Hulagu in person. Hulagu told him to order all the people to leave the city and to lay down their arms. According to a chronicler, "The inhabitants, disarmed, came in groups to give themselves up to the Mongols, who massacred them on the spot" (Grousset, p. 356). The Mongols took over the city, killed those who remained in the city, and burned the whole place down. The Caliph had already been forced to turn over all his treasures. On February 20, the Mongols killed him in keeping with their tradition. Mongol tradition forbid shedding of a prince's blood, so they sewed him up in a sack, and had horses stampede over him. This was the end of the Abbasid Caliphate.

Hulagu's mother had been a Nestorian Christian. His chief wife, Doquz-khatun, was a Christian as well. Hulagu spared the Christian population of the Caliphate in his massacres. Most of the Christian residents in this area were Armenians. A witness to this expedition was the Armenian monk Vartan. Hulagu was allied to the king of the Armenian kingdom based in south-east Anatolia. Hulagu himself was a Buddhist, but according to Vartan, Hulagu said "We love the Christians, but they (the Golden Horde) favor Muslims" (Grousset, p. 358). Hulagu intended to move directly on to Syria, but was unable to. The elimination of the Abbasid Caliphate had scared the rest of the Muslim world. This included the Golden Horde. To protect himself against attack by the one kind of force he feared, another Mongol army, Hulagu went to Azerbaijan and established his capital there. He could keep an eye on the Golden Horde from a mountainous vantage point. Hulagu spent the rest of 1258 establishing his base, and readying for the invasion of Syria and Egypt.

When we last discussed Egypt in 1229, the ruler was al-Kamil. He was a descendent of Saladin. Al-Kamil had taken over the Egyptian sultanate in 1219 and become ruler of Egypt and Syria in 1227. Al-Kamil was the last strong Ayyubid Sultan. He died in 1238. Jerusalem was taken back after the truce between al-Kamil and Frederick expired in 1240. After that, the system the Ayyubids used to man their army came back to haunt them. This was the Mamluk system, mentioned before as operating in northern India. Mamluks were military slaves. This system, used by Turkish rulers in northern India and Egypt, required the capture of non–Islamic boys. This usually took place in Christian or pagan areas of the Caucasus or central Asia. Before the appearance of the Mongols in these areas, the slaves were captured, and marched by land to Egypt. The Sultan would buy the likeliest prospects. These boys were converted to Islam (which forbade the enslavement of Muslims, but allowed enslavement on infidels). They then became the backbone of the Sultan's army. Their military training was the best the Egyptians had to offer, and the army was

dominated by Mamluks.

This process was exemplified by the outstanding Mamluk of this time, Baybars. Baybars was probably born in 1223 in the country of Kipchak Turks on the northern shore of the Black Sea. Baybars was captured by the Mongols in 1242, and sold as a slave. Eventually he came into the possession of the Egyptian sultan, who put him through military training. Baybars excelled in this training, and became an officer in the sultan's bodyguard. Baybars was a commander in the Mamluk army that defeated a Crusader army in Egypt in 1250. Baybars and other officers determined to overthrow the Ayyubid sultan, and murdered the last occupant of that office later in 1250. When Baybars angered the first Mamluk sultan, Baybars fled to Syria and stayed until 1260. Baybars and his confederates were welcomed back by a new Mamluk Sultan, Qutuz, and reinstated in the army.

The reason Qutuz reinstated Baybars was the Mongol invasion of Syria. There had been a preliminary action in early 1259. The emirate of Maiyafariqin was under the control of an Ayyubid descendant who defied the Mongols. The Mongols besieged his capital of Diyarbakir, and took it. The Islamic population was massacred, and the Christians were spared. The Seljuk rulers of western Anatolia submitted to the Mongols. The Mongols, allied with Cilician Armenia and the Latin Kingdom of Antioch, were now ready to invade Syria. The Mongol army marched out of Azerbaijan in September 1259. The Mongols instituted a siege of Aleppo on January 18, 1260. The city held out for just over a month, surrendering on February 25. The Muslim population was eliminated in a six-day massacre. Hulagu awarded some lands around Aleppo to both the Armenian king and the count of Antioch. After the result of the siege of Aleppo became known, the towns of Hama and Homs surrendered before the Mongols arrived. The local ruler in Damascus fled to Egypt, and the city fathers of Damascus surrendered on March 1. The citadel in Damascus held out until the Mongols took it on April 6. All occupants of the citadel were killed.

The Mongols were well on their way to their goal of taking Syria and Egypt. There was no further resistance in Syria. In Palestine, the garrison of Nablus resisted a Mongol attack. This garrison was overcome, and all were killed. A scouting mission under Kitbuqa advanced all the way to Gaza. Hulagu remained in Syria, allowing Kitbuqa a free hand. Kitbuqa had about 20,000 men, and was preparing for the invasion of Egypt. The native Christians were ecstatic, celebrating their release from Muslim rule. The Muslims complained to Kitbuqa, who ignored their complaints. In June 1260,

the Mongol reach in the west extended the furthest. This would soon change after news from home.

The news from home was another version of what happened in 1241. The Mongols had started two main drives to expand their empire. One took place in Iran and Syria. The other took place in southern China. We will discuss the drive on China in detail later. Mongke, the Great Khan, accompanied the army in China. In the neighborhood of modern Chungking, Mongke was preparing to lead an attack when, on August 11, 1259, he died. This death created another succession crisis in the Mongol empire. Mongke had three younger brothers; Hulagu, Khubilai, and Arik Boke. At the time of Mongke's death, Hulagu was in Syria, Khubilai was in China, and Arik Boke was in Mongolia. There was no immediate agreement on who would succeed. Mongke had favored Khubilai. The army in China favored Khubilai. Arik Boke was resident in Karakorum, and had the support of the Mongolian homeland. Hulagu was happy with his portion of the empire, but could exercise influence on who was named Great Khan. A quriltai should have been called. But instead, Khubilai marched his army north toward Beijing. On June 4, 1260, Khubilai declared himself Great Khan, with the support of his army. Khubilai had been in contact with Hulagu, who supported Khubilai in this dispute. Arik Boke secured the support of the Golden Horde in Russia. Because Hulagu was aware of these maneuvers, he felt that he needed to have troops available nearer to the center of his realm. So, in June 1260, Hulagu left Syria, taking most of the invasion force with him. He left Kitbuqa in charge, with a force of 20,000 men to occupy Syria and possibly move south. It appears that Hulagu intended to return to Syria as soon as the succession process sorted itself out.

Sultan Qutuz of Egypt had been keeping an eye on the situation in Palestine and Syria since the Mongols appeared. Although there had been many conflicts between the Egyptian sultans and the Latin states, they were also neighbors who had dealt with each other over the last one hundred fifty years. While the leader of the Latin state based in Antioch had allied himself to the Mongols, the barons based around Acre saw the Mongols as barbarians. These leaders preferred the devil they knew, which was the Egyptian sultan. Count Julien of Sidon, a noble in the southern Latin state, led an attack on a Mongol patrol in June 1260. In this attack, Kitbuqa's nephew was killed. Kitbuqa was enraged, and canceled his alliance with the Latin states. After Qutuz learned of the reduction of the Mongol forces in Syria, he planned an attack on the Mongols. Qutuz secured permission from the Latin states for his army to march through their territory, and the Latins sold supplies to the Egyptian army. This Egyptian army was led by

Baybars, whom Qutuz had recalled for this purpose. The Egyptian army left Egyptian territory on July 26, 1260. The Mongol garrison in Gaza was overwhelmed. With Latin help, the Egyptians were able to march across Palestine in the heat of summer.

With the help of the Latins, the Egyptians were able to send an army larger than 50,000 men against the Mongols. It would have been too difficult to supply such a large army without help from the local residents. When Baybars' force confronted the Mongols at Ain Jalut near the Jordan River and Sea of Galilee, Baybars had a decisive advantage in numbers. Kitbuqa had one touman of Mongols, with support from Georgian and Armenian contingents. The Egyptians had at least a three to one numerical advantage. The result was the first decisive stop to Mongol expansion. The Mongol army was wiped out in a battle on September 3, 1260. Kitbuqa was captured and beheaded by the Egyptians. Qutuz made a triumphant entry into Damascus soon afterward. Hulagu made one more attempt to throw the Mamluks out of Syria in 1260. A small detachment raided Aleppo, but was repulsed by the Mamluks near Homs in December. The Mongols were thrown back east of the Euphrates, never to come west. This was the end of empire extension in the southwest for the Mongols.

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24

1260—Ethiopia and Central Africa

Ethiopia had been home to agricultural production since around 3000 bce. The basic crops there were teff, a cereal related to wheat, finger millet, and two native vegetables. Urbanization started near Aksum sometime around 2000 bce per Egyptian hieroglyphs. There was contact between Egypt and Ethiopia during these times. An Ethiopian prince figures in the Illiad. Per legend, the biblical Queen of Sheba was from this area. Ethiopia was known as the source of incense and myrrh.

Ethiopian civilization in the first millennium was based around Aksum, a settlement in northern Ethiopia, on the plateau. The main factor in Ethiopia's relations to the outside world was its geographical isolation. Most people in Ethiopia live on the plateau, well over 4,000 feet in elevation. This plateau was difficult for any outside force to reach. There were two main trade outlets. One was north to Egypt across the desert to the Nile. The other was to ports on the Red Sea. These ports were part of the Indian Ocean trading area, which will be discussed further in the last chapter of this book. The Aksumite kingdom reached its territorial peak in the 4th century, extending from north of Khartoum on the Nile to near Lake Rudolf, west to the Horn of Africa and including Yemen on the Arabian Peninsula. This kingdom was reduced to something close to present day Ethiopia after the spread of Islam in the 7th century. The people of Ethiopia remained Christian through the spread of Islam, but were now surrounded on the north, east, and west by Muslim states. The inland areas south of Ethiopia remained pagan.

Aksumite rule weakened in the 11th century as a result of invasions from Somalia and from the south. The mythical founders of Aksumite rule were supposedly descendants of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. By 1100, some priests were claiming the current rulers were not of pure Solomonic stock. A new dynasty rose based in central Ethiopia around the town of Adefa. This was the Zagwe dynasty. The initial date of this dynasty is around 1150. The dynasty rose from the region of Agaw, just south of Aksum. The Zagwe were distant relations of the prior rulers. None of the dates are precise, as the records for

this change come from the records of the Patriarchs of Alexandria. The greatest king of this dynasty was named Lalibela, and he ruled from around 1205 through 1225. Two accomplishments of this ruler and dynasty have come down to us. Traditionally it was thought that Saladin gave some Christian churches in Jerusalem to Ethiopians after Saladin conquered the city in 1189. This gift caused an increase in the number of Ethiopian pilgrims to Alexandria and the Holy Land on the old caravan routes to the Nile. The other activity attributed to Lalibela is the construction of a series of underground churches. A dozen of these underground churches are in a city founded by Lalibela, named after him. Aksumite stoneworkers were used for these projects. While the inspiration for these churches may have come from Egypt, the completed churches were Ethiopian in execution. It used to be thought that these churches were too sophisticated to be constructed by native Ethiopians, but the discovery of older stelae in Aksum carved in the same way put that to rest. The Zagwe rulers reproduced a second Jerusalem in the highlands of Ethiopia in the early 13th century, and traditional celebrations were held annually on these sites re-enacting the passion and crucifixion of Christ.

The Zagwe expanded their influence from southern Ethiopia to take over the old Aksumite area in the north. There is an eyewitness report of the Zagwe having an army of about 60,000 soldiers in 1209. This army was used to expand their territory into pagan areas south and west. A legend of an Egyptian monk coming to Ethiopia during this time shows how the empire was expanding. This monk took up residence on the top of a mountain about 30 miles southeast of Addis Ababa, which was past the southern frontier of Christian belief. The monk wrote an autobiography, which indicates that this area was a mix of Christian, Muslim, and pagan believers.

The underground churches are the only architectural monuments of this period in Ethiopia. The reason was that the capital was a moving camp. These camps could consist of over 100,000 people, moving with the seasons. The royals would be the core of the camp, and the rest of the people would either be servants of the court, people looking to do business with the court, or camp followers. This semi-nomadic life was based on animal herds. These herds had to be moved seasonally, to where the pastures were. Because of this, archaeological evidence of this time is limited to church buildings and their immediate vicinities. The technology needed to build these churches showed that the Ethiopians used advanced techniques. Brick arches and brick barrel-vaulting were used. The stonework on these churches was as good as anything in Europe. Ethiopia had writing as early as the beginning of the first millennium. Inscriptions on stelae in Axum have been

deciphered. Coins were struck in the Axumite kingdom during the seventh century, with inscriptions such as “May the country be satisfied” (Connah, *African Civilizations*, p. 88). The existence of these large buildings indicates a peasant or slave class that did the heavy work. Slaves are thought to have been a major export of Ethiopia during this time.

The Zagwe rulers were still in power in northern Ethiopia in 1260. There is evidence that during the entire life of the Zagwe dynasty, that there was a general belief that its power had been acquired through an illegitimate usurpation. This evidence comes from correspondence between the king of Ethiopia and the Patriarch of Alexandria. Christianity came to Ethiopia through Egypt in the 300s. King Ezana led the conversion of his people during his reign, which started around 325. The first confirmed bishop of Ethiopia was consecrated in Alexandria in the 340s. The Ethiopian Church was subordinate to the Egyptian Church, which is now called Coptic. Up through the 1200s, the bishop of Ethiopia was named by the Patriarch of Alexandria. The king asked the Patriarch to replace the bishop. The bishop refused to recognize the king as ruler, contending the king acquired power through illegitimate means. The best records indicate that the Zagwe dynasty consisted of seven rulers, who finally lost power in 1270.

By 1260, the person that would take over the whole country had started his political career in the south of Ethiopia. Yekunno-Amlak was a member of a family of chiefs in Amhara, the region where the Blue Nile exits Lake Tana. Amhara had become Christian during Zagwe rule. A monastic school was established on an island in Lake Hayq in 1248. Yekunno-Amlak was sent to this school soon after it opened. While there, it was determined that Yekunno-Amlak was a descendant of the last “Solomonic” prince, deposed by the Zagwe in 1150. With local clerical support, Yekunno-Amlak raised the standard of rebellion around 1260 in Amhara. Soon afterward, he was captured by the last Zagwe king. Yekunno-Amlak escaped and continued in rebellion. Yekunno-Amlak was strong in the southern area of Ethiopia, and it took him a while to gain power throughout Ethiopia. By 1270, Yekunno-Amlak had taken full control of the entire region. This was the start of the Solomonic dynasty. Yekunno-Amlak discontinued the tradition of the moving capital. The Solomonic capital was established at Shoa in southern Ethiopia. One traditional account of Yekunno-Amlak says that he was forty years old when he took power, and that he left many sons. His son and successor, Yagba-Siyon, took power on Yekunno-Amlak’s death in 1285. On Yagba-Siyon’s death in 1294, there was a five-year civil war. After this strife between his many sons was settled, a remarkable institution was created. A royal prison was

built at Mount Gishen. It became a standing rule that all the male descendants of Yekunno-Amlak, except the reigning monarch and his sons, were detained on the top of Mount Gishen. Surrounded by guards loyal to the reigning monarch, this prison was inaccessible without the express permission of the reigning monarch. When a monarch died, he was succeeded by one of his sons according to seniority. The other sons were immediately rounded up and taken to the top of Mount Gishen. If no sons survived to succeed a monarch, the dignitaries of the court would consult and choose from the inhabitants of Mount Gishen a new monarch. This system worked well enough for this dynasty to continuously rule until the middle of the 16th century, when the prison was destroyed.

The area southwest of Ethiopia is known as the interlacustrine region of Central Africa. This is the Great Lakes region, between Lake Victoria on the east and Lakes Albert, Edward and Kivu on the west. In the first decade of the twentieth century, Winston Churchill traveled in this region. He called it “from end to end a beautiful garden.” It would be strange if such a fertile region was not settled by humans, particularly on the continent where humans originated. However, there are few archaeological records of civilizations in this area for the 13th century. This is due to the environmental conditions. As opposed to Ethiopia, which is fairly dry, the lake region of Africa is quite rainy. Due to the current political instability of the area, there are very few archaeological digs there. One area that shows city life is Ntusi, in southern Uganda. In 1260, there was a settlement there that covered about 100 hectares. This appears to have been a center of both agriculture and cattle grazing. The deposits there show broken pottery, cattle bones, grindstones, curved iron knives thought to be used for harvesting sorghum. Some facts can be drawn from large earthen formations. One of these is in Bigo, Uganda, which is north of Ntusi. There are 10 kilometers of ditches, enclosing an area of about 5 square kilometers. The excavations show that the economy was based on cattle. This settlement was based on a river, which was an improvement from Ntusi for a cattle-based settlement. The amount of excavation indicates that a substantial labor force was used, possibly from Ntusi.

This area could have been the home of the Chwezi dynasty. This was a mythical, possibly legendary, ruling dynasty in the Great Lakes region. There are some artifacts exhibited at a museum in Bunyoro-Kitbara, Uganda which are purported to be from the Chwezi dynasty. The only real records for this dynasty are oral testimony. This dynasty ruled from 1200 to 1300. The provinces covered by their rule were all in the Great Lakes area. It is possible that Ntusi and Bigo are centers of

population for this dynasty. It is thought that the Chwezi were Bantu speakers, and possible descendants of the Tutsi people of present Rwanda.

Another kingdom in existence in 1260 was the Luba kingdom. This state was located in the Upemba Depression, which is in southeastern Zaire. Burial sites there show a large variety of grave goods. The metal goods found in the graves show a high level of metal-working ability. The Luba kingdom had an agricultural base, shown by the tools found in the graves. Trade played a part in this economy as well. Goods have been found that originated in the Indian Ocean area (cowry shells) and further south (iron). The Luba exported salt and copper, which is still abundant in this area. Their area of settlement was near many small lakes. Fish was a major source of food, and dried fish was a trade item.

Both the Chwezi and Luba have made a small imprint in the archaeological record. This is due to environmental factors. We have used oral traditions to show that there were active civilizations in this area during this time. There are no king lists with dates for these kingdoms. But it is clear that there were towns in these areas, and that trade took place.

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25

1264—The Struggle for Succession in the Mongol Empire

Great Khan Mongke died on August 11, 1259. Mongke was leading the Mongol armies in a campaign against Sung China when he died. This campaign was the larger of the two thrusts started in 1256. The western campaign against Iran, Iraq and Syria has already been reviewed. The western campaign was under the control of Hulagu, who had been given rule of the area west of the Oxus River to as far west as he could subdue. While Mongke accompanied the army against the Sung, northern China was under the rule of his younger brother, Khubilai. Khubilai had been governor of the conquered parts of China since 1251. Khubilai availed himself of the advice of Yai Chu, a Chinese scholar who had taught him the language. During the peace between 1251 and 1256, Khubilai tried to revive agriculture in his domain, distributing seeds and tools to peasants. These actions were an indication of Khubilai's identification with China.

At the time of Mongke's death, three Mongol armies were operating in China. Khubilai was in charge of an army that was besieging the city of Wuchow (modern Wuchang) on the middle Yangtze. In the areas Khubilai conquered, he installed Chinese governors. Uriyangqatai, a son of Subodei, led an army south through Szechwan all the way to Hanoi. He took Hanoi, set up a puppet ruler, and then turned east to enter Sung China along the coast of the South China Sea. Mongke led an army between the other two, which was besieging Chungking in Szechwan when he died. When Khubalai heard the news of his brother's death, he hastened to make peace with the Sung minister Chia Ssu-tao, leaving the Yangtze as the common frontier between the Sung and Mongol realms. Khubilai returned to north China with his army, stopping in the area of his newly built summer residence near the present border of China and Mongolia. On June 4, 1260, Khubilai was proclaimed by his army as the Great Khan.

This proclamation was irregular according to the law of Genghis Khan. There should have been a quriltai in Mongolia, in the presence of representatives of the families of the four sons of Genghis. By this time, there was a severe disconnect between the residents of the

homeland of Mongolia, and the Mongols who had moved to the conquered lands. Genghis had intended for Mongolia to be a “closed tribute state.” This would be a central reservoir of nomad power, nourished by the agriculture and industry of the conquered lands. This central area would be uncontaminated by the alien way of life in these conquered states. This vision had been successfully applied to the homeland of Mongolia. The current ruler of Mongolia was Khubilai’s younger brother Arik Boke. Arik Boke was in Karakorum when he heard of Khubilai’s proclamation as Great Khan. Arik Boke, advised by cultural conservatives living the traditional life in Mongolia, issued a proclamation of himself as Great Khan. The issue of who would be the highest leader in the empire would be settled on the battlefield.

Before reviewing the course of the war between the brothers, we will review the current status of the Mongol Empire in 1260. As discussed before, after the death of Genghis Khan the empire always had either a regent or a Great Khan as the highest leader. The Great Khan was not an absolute monarch. Genghis had divided his realm on his death between four sons. That division continued, with one more realm added. By 1260, there were five large subdivisions within the Mongol empire. These were: (1) the Khanate of the Golden Horde. The area ruled by the Golden Horde was eastern Europe. Bounded on the east by the Urals, south by the Caspian Sea, Caucasus mountains, and Black Sea, and on the west by however far they wished to go, this realm consisted of current Belarus, Ukraine, and much of European Russia. The ruler in 1260 was Berke, a brother of Batu, grandson of Genghis. Berke was Muslim, and had serious issues with Il-Khanate. (2) The Il-Khanate. The area ruled by the Il-Khan was current Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, and Caucasian states. The ruler in 1260 was Hulagu, brother of Khubilai and Arik Boke. Hulagu was a supporter of Khubilai in the contest, but was too far away to do anything about it. Hulagu had to be prepared to fight Berke, and could not help Khubilai. (3) The Khanate of Jagatai. This khanate covered the modern state of Turkestan, and much of central Asia north of the Oxus. The ruler in 1260 was Orghana, widow of the prior ruler Qara-Hulagu. She was replaced in 1261 by a nominee of Arik Boke. This khanate was a neighbor of Mongolia, and Arik Boke wanted a strong supporter there. (4) The Mongolian homeland. This consisted of current Mongolia, northern Manchuria, and Korea. Arik Boge was the ruler there, and readying his forces to become universally acknowledged Great Khan. (5) China. This consisted on current China running from Tibet, north of the Yangtze and south of Mongolia, all the way to the Pacific. Khubilai had proclaimed himself Great Khan, and transferred the capital of the empire to Beijing. Now he had to

fight for it.

One of Genghis Khan's fondest wishes became reality during the period from about 1230 through 1280. Genghis had always hoped to reestablish the old Silk Route across Asia. He interviewed some of the few merchants who were traveling long distances in the early 13th century. These merchants, who were mostly Muslim, opened his eyes to the potential of this trade. Genghis protected caravans in his realms, and encouraged all peaceful commerce after he finished conquering an area. By 1230, there was general peace along the various Silk Routes. By 1260, the Mongol Empire had taken over 90 percent of the length of these routes. Trade was encouraged, and growing. There was contact with Europe. Popes sent emissaries to the Mongols. These embassies led to no concrete diplomatic results, but solid information was secured about the Mongol empire. Two embassies, led by Franciscan brothers, made it to Karakorum. The first, led by Friar John of Plano Carpini, reached the Mongols in the summer of 1245. This meant a ride of over 3,000 miles in four months. Friar John met with the Great Khan, presented the Pope's letter, got a response, and returned to Rome the next year. This trip was repeated by Friar William of Rubrick in 1254, with similar results. The Great Khan's reply carried by Carpini reads in part "From the rising of the sun to its setting, all the lands have been made subject to me: who could do this contrary to the command of God?" (Legg, p. 298). While the diplomatic results were negligible, the reports of both friars added significantly to the knowledge of the East. However, these reports were only available to people with access to the Papal library. Some churchmen took advantage of this source. It is known that after his trip, Rubrick was an associate of Roger Bacon. Bacon learned all he could from Rubrick about the East. But this knowledge was not spread outside clerical circles.

While embassies were well and good, Genghis had wished for trade. Muslim traders from the Middle East were aware of the opportunities, and started to travel east. Word of the comparative safety of this land route made its way west. Both Venice and Genoa had trading stations on the north shore of the Black Sea. The merchants there traded with merchants who traveled the caravan routes east. Eventually, the European merchants started making the trip east. In 1260, the journey that led to the spreading of knowledge in Europe about the east started. Two Venetian brothers, Niccolo and Maffeo Polo, had been in Constantinople on business since 1254. Latin rule of Byzantium, established after the Fourth Crusade, was now very weak. There were rebellions in process. Venetians had secured trading monopolies after the Fourth Crusade, which were very unpopular. The Polos decided it

was not safe to remain in Constantinople, and sailed to the Venetian outpost of Soldaia on the Crimea. It appears that the brothers Polo did not prosper in Soldaia, and the political situation in Constantinople would not allow them to return to Venice. The Polos decided to seek their fortunes further east. While we will discuss their journey and its aftermath later in this book, the reason they went east is important for this time. The Polos had learned that the political situation allowed safe travel across the steppes, which was not true in the Black Sea and Constantinople. This safety of travel was the doing of the Mongols, who had imposed peace on the steppes. This peace was the peace of the grave, as the Mongols had eliminated all rivals over this vast area. But it was peace nonetheless.

This peace was possible when there was one acknowledged Great Khan. As we have seen before, there was no agreed-on succession process in the Mongol Empire. Up until now, the succession had passed without great violence. There had been regencies, disagreements, and purges, but not outright military succession battles. By summer of 1260, there were two proclaimed Great Khans, both descendants of Genghis. Both sides prepared for war. The main propaganda point for Arik Boke was that his brothers, Khubilai and Hulagu, had become less Mongol and more sedentary in character. This was a valid point. Both Khubilai and Hulagu were long resident in their realms, Khubilai in China and Hulagu in Iran. Both used local nobility to rule their realms. Both adopted the ways of the conquered society. Arik Boke had remained in Mongolia, and lived the nomadic lifestyle. Hulagu had withdrawn from Syria, with the results as shown in a prior chapter. He wanted to either come to Khubilai's aid, or return to Syria and drive to Egypt. He could do neither, as the Golden Horde declared war on the Il-Khanate, and Hulagu had to bring his forces to Azerbaijan to guard against the Golden Horde. Neither Hulagu nor Berke would have any influence on the dispute between Khubilai and Arik Boge. The Il-Khanate and Golden Horde canceled each other out. The Mongol ruler of the Khanate of Jagatai, Orghana, tried to stay neutral. Arik Boge sent a prince of the house of Jagatai, Alghu, to take over the Khanate of Jagatai. Alghu accomplished this by overthrowing Orghana and taking over in 1261. Arik Boge counted on the support of Alghu. Arik Boge had the loyalty of the troops stationed in the homeland and in the Khanate of Jagatai. His forces were smaller than the forces in China. Khubilai had to secure the loyalty of the invaders of Sung China.

The forces that proclaimed Khubilai Great Khan backed him completely. The armies that remained behind in south China were not so secure. Some of the generals in command there backed Arik Boke.

Khubilai sent agents to determine the loyalty of the rank and file of these armies, and learned that he was their choice as leader. The generals of doubtful loyalty were removed, and the forces that had been fighting the Sung were withdrawn to northern China in early 1260. The Sung attacked and wiped out a small remaining Mongol force in April 1260. Khubilai made no military response to this. On May 21, 1260, he sent an embassy of Chinese advisors to the Sung. The Sung minister Chia Ssu-tao detained the embassy, and broke off contact with the Mongols. As of now Khubilai ignored this insult. Khubilai pursued his strategy against Arik Boke. Khubilai intended to deny the resources of the sedentary world to Arik Boke. China was the closest source of provisions to Mongolia, and Khubilai denied those to his brother. Khubilai secured the alliance of one of Ogedai's sons, Khadan. Khadan was the local ruler of what is now northwest China, a possible source of supply to Arik Boke. The remaining source of supply for Arik Boke was the valley of the Yenesei, north of Karakorum. That was where Arik Boke withdrew to in the fall of 1260. Khubilai marched to Karakorum and took it in the fall of 1260. Khubilai left a garrison at Karakorum, and took most of his forces back to northern China. By the fall of 1261, Arik Boke had installed Alghu as leader of his western neighbor the Khanate of Jagatai. Emboldened by this backing, Arik Boke led his army back to Karakorum in the fall of 1261, took Karakorum, and advanced over the Gobi to meet his brother's forces. In November, these armies clashed at Shimultai, near the current Mongolian-Chinese border. Khubilai won the battle, and Arik Boke's forces retreated. Khubilai did not pursue vigorously, and a subsequent battle ten days later ended in a draw. As winter was approaching, Arik Boke withdrew to the Yenesei valley.

In preparation for his campaign in spring 1262, Arik Boke deputized Alghu to collect money and provisions from the Khanate of Jagatai. Arik Boke expected this in return for his backing that allowed Alghu to assume power. Once Alghu realized that Arik Boke was not winning his war against Khubilai, Alghu decided to keep the taxes collected. Arik Boke sent envoys to Alghu, with instructions to get the funds and provisions from Alghu. Alghu had the envoys executed. Arik Boke decided that Alghu needed a lesson. In autumn 1262, Arik Boke led his army west against Alghu. The advance guard of Arik Boke's army encountered Alghu's army on the River Ili in current Sinkiang. Alghu's army won the battle, killing the opposing general in the process. Alghu became overconfident, paying the price soon thereafter. Arik Boke led his main army against Alghu, and the forces from the Mongolian homeland won a sweeping victory. Alghu led his army on a

retreat all the way to Samarkand. Arik Boke remained in the Ili valley, devastating the countryside and killing all Alghu's supporters he could find. Famine in his own army resulted, and many of his troops defected to Alghu. Arik Boke determined to make peace with Alghu. Arik Boke sent a peace mission including Orghana, the prior ruler in the Khanate of Jagatai and Masud Yalavach, who had been a minister in the Khanate of Jagatai. When Orghana and Masud arrived in Samarkand, Alghu upset all of Arik Boke's plans. Alghu married Orghana in late 1263, and installed Masud as his finance minister. Masud was an effective administrator, raising sufficient income to allow Alghu to gather a substantial army. By early 1264, Alghu was allied to Khubilai, and ready to march against Arik Boke.

After Khubilai's encounter with Arik Boke in late 1261, Khubilai remained in north China. Notification of a serious rebellion in Shantung province called for his presence there. The rebellion was led by a provincial official named Li Tan, who had been serving the Mongols since the mid–1250s. Li seems to have played both sides for a couple of years. He was a leader of Mongol forces against the Sung, but he also had contacts with the Sung. Khubilai trusted Li with important missions against the Sung and believed Li's reports of victories. Li used these reports to secure supplies from the Mongols. Late in 1261, Li made difficulties in fulfilling Mongol orders to secure horses for their upcoming campaign against Arik Boke. Li aided his son in escaping from Khubilai's court, where the son was being kept as a hostage. In early 1262, Li was ready to rebel. On February 22, 1262, military action was started against the Mongol detachments in his area. Li controlled enough Chinese troops, supposedly in Mongol service, to overwhelm the small Mongol detachments. This rebellion spread through the entire Shantung province. Khubilai was not engaged with Arik Boke, so he had available forces to put down this rebellion. Khubilai sent two of his leading generals to defeat the rebellion, along with a Chinese advisor to negotiate. The Mongol force defeated Li in early April. Li withdrew to his home city of Chi-nan. The fortress of Chi-nan was very strong, and the Mongols started a siege. Many of Li's forces had been captured, or deserted to the Mongols. The Chinese advisor with the Mongol army pardoned the enemy troops in Mongol possession. Word of this got into Chi-nan, and many more troops deserted. By August, Li knew he could hold out no longer. Li tried to drown himself, but the Mongols captured him before he died. Li was then executed by the Mongols. A Chinese advisor to Khubilai who had recommended Li as a loyal subordinate, Wang Wentung, was charged with aiding the rebellion. Khubilai set up a tribunal of other Chinese aides to determine Wang's fate. The

Chinese aides called for death, and Wang was executed. This rebellion left a mark on Khubilai. It showed that even though he tried to please his Chinese subjects, rebellion by Chinese leaders he trusted was possible. To protect himself from this vulnerability, Khubila started to use non–Chinese advisors in China. The long-term effects of this will be discussed later.

By early 1264, Arik Boke was in a perilous situation. His own forces were reduced from their fighting against both Khubilai and Alghu in the previous two years. Alghu had been able to build up his army to the point that he was ready to invade Arik Boke's territory. Khubilai was still the leader with the most military power, and now his rear in China was secured. Khubilai's strategy of starving Arik Boke of provisions from the sedentary world was working. Arik Boke looked at his options, and made a decision. In 1264, Arik Boke made the trip from the Yenesei valley to Khubilai's recently renamed summer capital of Shang-tu. Arik Boke came into the presence of his brother, and surrendered to Khubilai. Khubilai spared his brother, but had ten of his leading retainers executed. Khubilai felt that he should not be the sole judge of his brother. He sent messengers to the leaders of the three remaining khanates asking them to come to Shang-tu. These messages reached the three khans in early 1265. Hulagu and Berke were at war, and neither felt he could leave. Alghu replied that he had not been confirmed yet himself, and could not judge Arik Boge. In any case, all three leaders were dead by early 1266. Now Khubilai felt that he had the right to judge his brother himself. The result of this was the death of Arik Boge in early in 1266. The sources are not clear on whether this death was from natural causes, or an execution. The timing was suspicious, but no proof of execution has been discovered. Now Khubilai was the undisputed Great Khan. He was the ruler of lands from Korea to Belarus, Manchuria to Iraq. But as we have seen, the authority of the Great Khan only ran as far as his own military power. The Mongol empire would stay together for a while longer, but partition was becoming more likely.

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26

1265—Simon de Montfort and Parliament in England

When we last discussed England, King John was approving, through gritted teeth, the Magna Carta. King John died the next year, in 1216. His son Henry became king, at age nine, and was king until his death in 1272, one of the longer reigns of any English king. He was not a strong king, and histories of his reign are divided into periods based on the influence of different advisors. Even though Henry III was king for 56 years, the only period when he exercised personal rule was the 24 years from 1234 through 1258. His lack of talent for ruling led to important developments in the English system of government.

In 1216, various barons of England had invited the heir to the French throne, Louis, to England. Louis landed in East Anglia, and by October controlled much of eastern England, including London. After the death of King John, the rebellious barons either defected to the council of regency, or were defeated. In 1217, Louis returned to France, never to come back to England. The regency council ran England until 1232, when Henry dismissed the council. An indication of Henry's lack of appetite for rule was that Henry declared himself of age in 1227, but allowed the regency council to rule until 1232. For the next two years, two French advisors dominated Henry's regime. Leading barons of England turned against these advisors, and Henry dismissed them in 1234. Henry assumed personal rule in 1234. Henry married Eleanor of Provence in 1236. One fact to remember is that the nobility of England was Anglo-French. The official language of the English court was Latin, and laws and edicts were still issued in that language. The first language of the court and most of the barons was French. But this was changing. The change took most of the 13th century, and official documents were not written exclusively in English until the late 14th century.

Going back to Anglo-Saxon times, there had been a council of nobles that advised the king. Before the Norman invasion, this council was called the witanagemot. The witanagemot met when the king called it, at irregular intervals. After the Norman conquest, the witanagemot morphed into the Great Council. The Council met irregularly, and consisted of leading barons of the realm. Events of the early 13th

century led to stronger actions by the barons. These disputes led to more meetings of the Council, which came to be called parliaments. This word came from the French word parler, which meant to talk or discuss. While the Magna Carta had no provisions about parliament, the dispute that led to the approval of the Magna Carta was an example to the barons of the mid–13th century on how to exercise power against the king.

King Henry was a charitable and cultured person. He contributed to various churches and monasteries. In 1245, he had the old church at Westminster torn down, and rebuilt in the current style. The result of this is Westminster Abbey. Henry had many French relatives. His wife brought several brothers and cousins along with her when she came to England. Henry's mother had married a French noble after King John's death, resulting in half-brothers. Soon after Henry assumed personal rule, English barons were expressing outrage over the influence of his French relatives. In 1238, Henry stirred up more opposition by marrying his sister Eleanor to a young French favorite, Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester. Henry got into problems on the continent when his mother got Henry to support his half-brothers in a military attempt to take the province of Poitou back from the French king. This effort failed, at great expense, in 1242. The barons who would have made up the members of a Great Council petitioned the King to call council meetings, but the King refused. There was one province of France that was still in the hands of the English king, Gascony. In 1248, Henry appointed his brother-in-law, Simon de Montfort, as his lieutenant there to suppress an ongoing revolt.

Simon de Montfort was wholly French in background. We met his father before as the leader of the Albigensian Crusade in southern France. Simon was born in 1208, the second son of his namesake. When Simon came of age, he renounced his French lands to his older brother. Simon declared he would pursue his claim to the earldom of Leicester. Simon first came to England in 1229. He secured the help of his cousin the Earl of Chester, and declared himself Earl of Leicester in 1231, doing homage to King Henry that same year. Henry confirmed Simon as Earl of Leicester in April 1239. After Simon's marriage to Henry's sister, English barons protested and Simon left the country. Simon went on crusade with Henry's brother Richard, staying in the Holy Land for two years. Simon returned to France in 1242, aiding Henry's failed attempt to secure Poitou. Simon went to England, and lived there until 1248. Simon became a leading baron, even though he was regarded as a king's man.

Simon accepted his appointment to Gascony reluctantly, as he

intended to accompany Louis IX of France on his crusade (see next chapter). Simon secured full powers for seven years, not subject to recall and with full funding of his expenses. Simon treated all rebelling nobles as outlaws, ruthlessly crushing the revolt. Simon's father had been a brutal crusader in the neighboring provinces of southern France earlier in the century. Gascon allies of Henry protested that Simon was treating Gascony the same way. Henry recalled Simon in 1252 for a trial on the charges brought by Gascon nobles. His English fellow barons were his judges, and Simon was acquitted. Simon returned to Gascony, but Henry soon terminated Simon's appointment. Simon secured a financial settlement, and withdrew to France. In November 1252, French leaders asked him to become regent for the captured Louis IX of France. Henry asked Simon's help to suppress a revolt in 1253. Simon was friends with two of the leading Catholic intellectuals in England, Robert Grosseteste and Franciscan monk Adam de Marisco. Simon waited for a chance to influence events in England.

Simon's chance came as an indirect result of the death of Frederick II. After Frederick's death in 1250, Pope Innocent IV spent the rest of his life trying to recruit a leading European noble to become King of Sicily. The first two men he recruited were brothers of the English and French kings. Richard of Cornwall was the brother of King Henry, and the richest man in England after the king. Richard had been friends with Frederick, and skeptical about trying for the Sicilian throne. Richard investigated the possibility, and turned it down. Charles of Anjou was King Louis' brother, and another very rich noble. Charles investigated the possibility, and turned down the chance to lead an invasion of Sicily in 1253. We will hear more of his interest in the Kingdom of Sicily later. In 1253, Pope Innocent IV sent a legate to England to feel out Henry. The situation in the Empire and the Kingdom were sufficiently nebulous to intrigue Henry. Emperor Conrad had invaded northern Italy, and the Pope had secured many allies to fight Conrad. Conrad died in May 1254, leading to a prolonged dispute over possession of the imperial throne. Frederick's illegitimate son Manfred was the ruler in the Kingdom of Sicily, and Manfred defeated papal forces in 1254 to consolidate his rule. As the papacy was committed to wiping out the Hohenstaufen, Innocent turned to Henry for aid. Henry agreed to pay the papal debt that existed in 1254, and to fund an invasion of the Kingdom. Henry's payoff was that his second son Edmund would become the new King of Sicily. This agreement turned out to be a disaster for Henry. Henry called a Great Council meeting in 1254, including some knights of the shire in this meeting. Knights of the shire were lower nobility, resident

in the countryside. The Council told Henry there was not enough money available to fund this agreement. Henry then dismissed the Council, and spent the next four years trying to secure the funds. One way Henry tried to raise the money was by making a treaty with France. Henry was encouraged to do this by the new Pope, Alexander IV. Alexander ratified the agreement made between his predecessor and Henry, and tried to hold Henry to his bargain. Henry appointed two nobles to conduct these negotiations, Peter of Savoy and Simon de Montfort. Both had been recent residents of Paris, and were well connected to both courts. Henry sent other members of his household to aid in the negotiations. Simon was hopeful of an alliance between four of the leading powers of western Europe. The Treaty of Paris was agreed to in the summer of 1258, creating an alliance between England and France. Richard of Cornwall had been elected Holy Roman Emperor in 1257 after much expense. Simon hoped to draw the Pope into this alliance. Simon's hopes fell apart when Richard's election was disputed, and Richard never took the imperial crown.

Henry's hopes had been dashed as well. In early 1258, Henry called a meeting of the Great Council, including knights of the shire. This meeting was eventually known as the "Mad Parliament." The Parliament and King agreed to a council made up of twelve Parliament supporters and twelve supporters of the king. This council was to come up with an agreement that would allow the king to proceed with his policy. The leader of the parliamentary faction was Simon de Montfort. The result of the council's deliberations was called the Provisions of Oxford. This agreement would have made the King a figurehead of a fifteen-member council, chosen by a committee of four. There were to be three Parliaments each year, attended by the council members and 12 others elected by the community (not defined). Leading officers of the realm such as the justiciar, treasurer and chancellor were to be responsible to Parliament. The households of the king and queen were to be reformed, which meant stripped of their foreign relatives. A written copy of this agreement was sent to every sheriff in England. The copies were in Latin, French, and Middle English. This was the first legal document written in English since 1066.

Parliament was still a body that was to advise the King. Laws were made by the King. The reason the king called Parliament was to raise money, as Henry knew that taxes imposed from above for a reason as unpopular as his Sicilian adventure would be resisted. This parliament imposed the council as rulers in the King's name. Parliament would not impose these taxes or spend the money on Sicily. The council ruled in the king's name for the next two years. Simon de Montfort

was not part of the council, as he had gone to Paris to negotiate the Treaty of Paris. Simon returned to England in 1260. The disagreement between Simon and Henry had a personal and political component. Simon's wife was owed a substantial amount of money and property as part of her dower (the amount of property she was entitled to by her marriage contract). Henry controlled this property. Henry's financial troubles had led him to keep this property. Simon pressed for his wife's property. Simon was opposed to the party in the council that took Henry's part, led by the Earl of Gloucester. Gloucester and Henry were able to isolate Simon, who left England unhappy with both the personal and political trends. Pope Alexander gave Henry absolution in 1261 from keeping his vows agreed to under the Provisions of Oxford. Henry then annulled the Provisions. This led to general dissatisfaction by the barons by the end of 1262. The royal party was weakened by the death of Gloucester in 1262. Simon returned to England in April 1263 to lead the party opposing the King.

The baronial opposition to the King coalesced around Simon. A meeting at Oxford led to a call to reimpose the Provisions of Oxford. The King refused, and the opposition raised a military force. Simon led a small army towards the south coast of England, as it was thought that French forces would come to Henry's aid. While Simon was on the south coast, London rose against the King. Henry and his wife were confined to the Tower of London in late June 1263. Henry's heir, Edward, held out in Windsor. On July 16, Henry announced that he would restore the Provisions. Henry instructed his sons Edward and Edmund to co-operate with the opposition. Simon came to London and took control. Simon was ruling in the name of the King, who was a virtual prisoner. Simon called parliaments in both September and October to help him rule. Simon was hoping that the baronial party would stay united. This was a futile hope, as the many personal disputes between various barons led to divisions. Some barons who had been leaders of the opposition to the King changed sides. All parties agreed on an appeal to King Louis IX of France to settle their disputes. Both factions sent representatives to meet with Louis in Boulogne in late 1263. Louis issued a ruling in January 1264 that annulled the Provisions of Oxford and all subsequent reforms. This led to war.

Simon and his party rejected Louis' ruling. Both parties gathered military forces. Simon was laid up with a broken leg in early 1264, which made his task more difficult. Simon had some able lieutenants, but his leadership was vital. The new Earl of Gloucester took the lead until Simon recovered. Henry's faction was led by his son, Edward. Henry was known as a poor military leader, and was happy to let his

son and heir take the lead. This war was the military training ground for Edward. Edward started the fighting by securing a base area in the west of England. Royal forces gathered in Oxford in late March. Henry called a parliament, which was attended by his allies among the barons. Some of the opposing barons were gathering in Northampton. Edward led a force to Northampton and captured it, along with one of Simon's brothers and one of his sons. Simon was in control of London, and now healthy enough to raise troops. Gloucester led forces in Kent against royal troops holding one of the channel ports. Edward and Henry knew they could not be cut off from their French supporters. Royal forces marched around London to the channel ports, and secured control of the ports. By this time Simon had gathered enough of an army to contest royal control of southern England. On May 11, the two armies confronted each other at Lewes. Two days were spent trying to make peace. Three bishops shuttled between the leaders. The bishops' efforts failed. On May 14, 1264, battle was joined. The royal forces were numerically superior. There were three wings of the royal army, led by Henry, Richard of Cornwall, and Edward. Edward's wing attacked the baronial army, and routed its opponents. At the same time, Simon led attacks on the forces of Henry and Richard. Simon's attacks were successful. When Edward returned from his pursuit, he found the rest of the royal army scattered, and Henry taking refuge in a local priory. Edward then took refuge in a local Franciscan house. Soon after the battle, the baronial forces found and captured Henry and Edward. Simon and his party were now rulers of England.

Simon kept power concentrated in a few hands that summer. French forces and English exiles were gathering across the Channel. Simon issued a call to gather together knights and freeholders. In East Anglia and the south coast, forces were organized for coast defense. All this time negotiations were conducted with Louis and papal representative. Louis had already shown his partiality to his royal counterpart. The papal representative, who in December 1264 would become Pope Clement IV, issued sentence of excommunication and interdict against the baronial rebels in July 1264. Simon summoned all the leading barons to attend to him in November. The barons on the Welsh border declined, and Simon had to lead an army against these barons to compel their compliance. The West Country had been under the control of Edward, the heir to the throne, before his capture at Lewes.

With all these various policies in place, Simon called a parliament in January 1265. This was the first parliament that included members other than nobles and bishops. Up until now, parliaments had consisted of leading religious prelates, all the barons, and two knights

from each shire. For this parliament, Simon asked for two burgesses (local leaders) from selected boroughs. This meant that non-nobles from towns such as York, Lincoln, London and other towns were in attendance. Simon was popular among city leaders, demonstrated by his base in London. He took no chances in securing support at this parliament. The first barons summoned were twenty-three known supporters of Simon. Other barons who were thought to support the king were not summoned until later. The parliament met until March 8. An agreement was reached that would keep Edward as a prisoner. The king was officially at liberty, but really under the control of Simon's government. Simon was the leader of a parliamentary government. All the different parties claimed to be acting in the king's name. What that meant led to further fighting.

While Simon was the leader of a government in the name of the king and parliament, many other barons felt that he was acting as king. The barons from the Welsh border were secretly raising forces against Simon. Simon's ally, the Earl of Gloucester, was reconsidering his position. Simon's appointments to leading government positions displeased many other barons. In May 1265 the opposition was ready to act. Gloucester arranged for the escape of Edward from captivity on May 28. Edward joined the army of the border lords. Simon secured some troops from Wales, who were happy to fight their local enemies the border lords. After maneuvering against each other through June and July, the two armies met in battle on August 4 at Evesham. Edward led the royal forces against Simon's forces, and Edward won the battle. Simon and his knights had King Henry in their midst, and at the end of the battle Simon and his knights fought in a circle around the king. Most of these knights, including Simon and his son, were killed, and Edward secured his father. Simon de Montfort became a figure of ridicule and disgust in high circles. But in the local countryside around Evesham, he was a popular figure. In 1323, when Henry's grandson Edward II was on a journey in this area, one evening two women came into his presence and sang songs celebrating Simon de Montfort.

After the battle of Evesham, Edward spent the rest of the year securing the country. His father was taken to Marlborough to convalesce from his ordeal. There was a two-year purge of Simon's adherents. Nobles who were identified as supporters of Simon were stripped of their lands, and some took to the woods and fens to fight back. By 1267, a final settlement was reached. This agreement was ratified by a parliament. This parliament's composition was similar to the parliament of 1265. It is important to remember that all parties involved in this civil war officially were acting in the King's name.

The King was still the ruler of England. But though all the parliaments up until 1267 were called by the King and expected to ratify the King's (or someone like Simon acting in the King's name) actions, things were changing slowly. The parliament was still one body or house. Parliament was not just barons anymore. After 1258, knights of the shire and burgesses of leading towns were members of parliament. The first steps to parliamentary government had been taken.

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27

1270—The Death of Louis IX and the Crusades

We have discussed certain aspects of French life since last reviewing French politics. Now we will return to kings, princes and bishops. On the death of Louis VIII in 1226, the domain of the king was left to all his sons. Louis VIII did not leave his entire realm to his eldest son. Louis IX received all the lands held by his grandfather Phillip Augustus. The rest of the lands held by Louis VIII went to his other sons, as Dukes of the various provinces. If the younger sons had no male heirs, the provinces they held would revert to the crown. In this particular instance, all the lands held by Louis VIII were held together for varying times. This was because all Louis VIII's sons were underage at the time of Louis VIII's death. His eldest son, Louis IX, was twelve when crowned in 1226. His mother, Blanche of Castile, became regent. Blanche, a granddaughter of Eleanor of Aquitaine, was as politically prominent and astute as her grandmother. Blanche married Louis IX to Margaret of Provence, sister of the Queen of England. Louis IX came of age in 1234, but allowed his mother to retain all powers as regent until 1240. As the other sons reached their majority in various years after 1234, the provinces left to them by their father were given to them. So, by 1259, most of what is now France was being ruled by members of the Capet family. However, this land was divided up into three realms. The brothers usually co-operated, but it was not legally required. The laws in each of these sections, as well as the parts of France ruled by others, were different than in the royal lands. This was a continuation of the conflict between the nobility and the kings that was ultimately settled in the reign of Louis XIV.

Louis IX reputation is defined by the title he achieved 27 years after his death in 1270: Saint Louis. There is little doubt of his piety. To this piety, the real Louis added wit, charm, ability as an administrator, independence from papal influence, love for his wife, generosity, and religious intolerance. Louis was a person in full, not a paper saint. An example of his wit and piety is shown from a story originating at the Parlement of Paris in 1262. Parlements in France were judicial meetings. The Parlement in 1262 was attended by Louis IX and Henry III of England. Both were known for their piety. Once the session of

Parlement started, the daily sessions were starting later and later each day, because Henry was arriving later each day. Louis learned that every time Henry encountered a priest on his way to the meeting, Henry insisted on hearing a mass from that priest. The next day, Louis had all the priests removed from Henry's route to the meeting place. Henry arrived on time, and asked Louis if France was now under interdict. Louis explained what he had done, and asked Henry why he wanted to hear so many masses. Henry asked why Louis was so fond of sermons. Henry then tried to stop Louis from hearing sermons. The two kings became so involved in disrupting the other's religious devotions that they allowed the Parlement to go on without them.

Various courtiers testified to Louis' charm. This is to be expected, as a courtier's job is to please the king. There were more witnesses to this quality of Louis in other situations, such as comrades on Crusade. Louis learned from his mother how to administer the realm effectively. Blanche had been an effective ruler, enough so that Louis allowed her to continue her rule even though he was of age. Louis adopted her policies, which led to a continual increase in tax income. Louis instigated an inspection process throughout his realm, where local officials and tax collectors were subject to review. This partially successful attempt to stamp out corruption helped in raising revenue. Even though Louis was a fervent Christian, he was also a fervent king. Louis was jealous of his authority after he assumed it in 1240. He would not tolerate rebellious subjects, and punished them severely. The most powerful outside force he had to deal with was the Church. Louis was a loyal Catholic, but not a subservient one. Louis retained his prerogatives in the French Church, appointing bishops and archbishops without consulting the Curia. When disputes arose between the French Church and the Pope, Louis always took the side of the French Church. Louis was married at the age of twenty, and there are no records of his straying from his marriage vows. This was quite unusual for a noble of this time. Louis and Margaret had a long and happy marriage, resulting in 11 children. Louis' generosity was well known throughout western Europe. Some of his court felt that Louis had been too generous to England in the Treaty of Paris of 1259, discussed above. Louis made large contributions to religious foundations throughout his domains. He gave substantial amounts to the poor throughout his life.

Louis was intolerant of other religions. He thought that Catholicism was the only path to salvation. His treatment of people he defined as non–Catholics showed this. Louis supported the new institution of the Inquisition. Dominican friars were in the process of creating a full inquisitorial method, perfected by 1250. Per Dominican definition, the

Albigensian heresy continued in southern France. The only part of southern France directly ruled by Louis was Languedoc. Louis supported and funded Dominican activity in Languedoc. A converted heretic turned Dominican friar, Robert le Bourge, conducted purges in northern France from 1233 through 1239. Contemporary religious chroniclers were horrified by Robert's methods. Louis backed Robert, and paid for the jailing of heretics before they were punished. In 1240, Pope Gregory IX banned the Talmud. Gregory asked all the royal princes of Christendom to seize and burn copies of this Jewish holy book on the first Saturday in Lent, "while all the Jews are gathered in the synagogue, and place the books in the custody of our dear sons, Dominican and Franciscan friars" (Johnson, p. 217). Louis was the only crowned king to try to obey this command. A public debate was held in Paris about this ruling. On one side was Nicholas Donis, a converted Jew now a Franciscan. The other side was represented by Rabbi Jehiel, who was not allowed to speak except in answer to interrogation. The books gathered were duly burned in 1242. This was all to the good for Louis, who said that the best way to argue with a Jew was to plunge a sword in him. As it turned out, Louis did not kill the Jews of France. He expelled them from his domains, after confiscating their possessions.

As we have seen, Crusades continued through the first half of the 13th century. Louis stayed clear of this activity, until he suffered a serious illness in 1244. The immediate result of this illness was recorded by John, lord of Joinville. Joinville says:

> He came so near to dying that one of the two ladies who were tending him wanted to draw the sheet over his face … but our Lord worked within him, and quickly brought him back to such a state of health that although up till then he had not been able to utter a word he now recovered his speech. As soon as he was able to speak he asked for the cross to be given to him, and this was promptly done. When the queen mother heard that the power of speech had come back to him she was as full of joy as it is possible to be. But on learning he had taken the cross—which she heard from his own lips—she mourned as much as if she had seen him lying dead [Hallam and Everard, p. 275].

Even after attempts at dissuasion by his mother, Louis remained determined to go on Crusade. His realm was at peace, and he felt the call. A Council of the Church was held in Lyon in 1245. Louis attended the Council, and announced his Crusade there. Pope Innocent IV was contending with other problems, and a new Crusade was not on his agenda. However, he saw how determined Louis was, and approved

the Crusade. Innocent gave the king permission to collect the customary Crusader levy on clerical incomes. Louis spent the next three years preparing for the Crusade. Louis enlisted the Franciscans and Dominicans to preach the Crusade. Poets praised the king and his wish to conquer Jerusalem. When we last discussed Jerusalem, Frederick II had taken it in 1229 under a ten year truce with the Egyptian sultan. This truce lasted until 1244, when Egyptian and Persian forces occupied Jerusalem. Louis' clear objective on this Crusade was to take Jerusalem back. Crusading spirit had been declining in Western Europe, but this Crusade was popular in France. Most of the 15,000 troops that left in 1248 were French, accompanied by contingents from Flanders, Burgundy, England, and others.

The king had learned lessons from prior crusades. His army was mostly knights, and Louis himself supplied most of the money. Some nobles, such as Joinville, paid their own way. Most relied on Louis. Louis cranked up his administrative machine. Records indicate that the Crusader levy on clerical income supplied over half the required funds. French towns contributed to the Crusader fund. The king borrowed money from Italian banks. This money was spent in several ways before the expedition left. Ships were hired from Genoa and Marseilles. Large amounts of supplies were purchased in advance. Louis bought land near Marseilles from the abbey of Psalmodi, and developed a port there. The expedition gathered at this new port of Aiges Mortes through the summer of 1248. Louis named his mother, now in her seventieth year, regent. The Crusade left in August 1248.

Louis was accompanied by his wife and two younger brothers, Robert of Artois and Charles of Anjou. The expedition wintered in Cyprus in 1248–9. By this point, all the troops in the expedition were aware that the immediate target was not Jerusalem, but Egypt. The Egyptian sultan was the ruler of the parts of Palestine and Syria not held by Latins. Louis, following the lead of the Fifth Crusade in 1219, felt that if he conquered Cairo or parts of the Nile Delta, he could trade these lands for Jerusalem and more land in Palestine. In May 1249, a fleet of about 120 ships set out from Limassol in Cyprus for Egypt. The choice was made to land on the eastern arm of the Nile, near Damietta. Fortune favored the Crusaders, and Damietta fell to their army within a month of landing. Some in the army wished to take Alexandria as well. Robert of Artois advised his brother that moving on by land to Cairo was a better option. Louis took Robert's advice. The Sultan of Egypt died about this time, which led to confusion in the Muslim forces. The Crusaders advanced up the branch of the Nile to near al-Mansurah. In February 1250, Robert of Artois led a surprise attack on an Egyptian camp two miles north of al-Mansurah. Robert

took the camp, and against the advice of his subordinates advanced into al-Mansurah. The Muslim forces there turned on Robert, trapping his forces in the city. Many knights, including Robert of Artois, lost their lives in this action. Louis arrived soon after this battle, and defeated the Muslims just outside of al-Mansurah. This was the last success of the Christian forces.

The Crusaders withdrew a short distance, holding their ground north of al-Mansurah. By this time, a new leader arrived in Cairo. Turan Shah, the son of the prior Sultan, temporarily dominated all factions in Cairo. Turan had come from Palestine, where he was the representative of his father. Turan led a new campaign against the Crusaders. Supply ships coming up the Nile from Damietta were intercepted. Disease and famine were prevalent in the Christian camp. Louis delayed too long in withdrawing. Subordinates pleaded with Louis to return to Damietta, but he refused. Muslim forces surrounded the Crusader camp, and on April 7, 1250, the entire army surrendered. Queen Margaret was in Damietta with the rest of the army. She had given birth to a son just before learning of her husband's capture. Margaret was able to convince the Genoese and Pisan ship captains and merchants to remain until a treaty was arranged with the Muslims. Margaret's energy helped to hold Damietta while a treaty was negotiated with Turan Shah. On May 6, 1250, a treaty was signed, the king's ransom was paid, and Louis IX was released. Louis, Margaret, and the rest of the small remaining Christian army left Damietta.

Louis' advisors pleaded with him to return to France. Louis declined, because many of his troops were still prisoners of the Egyptians. Louis went to Acre with the troops he still had, and pressed Turan Shah to release the remainder of his troops. Turan soon released the troops. All the troops wished to return to France. Louis paid their way, and remained in Acre. Louis spent the next three years travelling around the Latin States. He helped to fortify the walls of Acre, Jaffa, and Sidon. He arrived in Sidon just after a massacre of Christians there by the troops of the ruler of Aleppo. Louis helped bury the bodies of the victims. In late 1253, news arrived of the death of Blanche of Castile in November 1252. Louis grieved, and realized he must return to France. Louis left Sidon in the early spring, and returned to France in May 1254. Louis was profoundly impacted by his experiences on this Crusade. According to chronicler Matthew Paris he declared: "If only I could suffer alone the opprobrium and adversity, and my sins should not recoil on the universal church then I could bear it with equanimity. But woe is me, by me all Christendom has been covered with confusion" (Hallam and Everard, p. 281). Louis' already strong

ascetic streak was magnified. He wished to unite Christendom in order to fight the Muslims. He felt the best way to do this was to bring peace to Europe and good government to his people.

Blanche had left the regency to her sons Alfonso of Poitiers and Charles of Anjou. Louis took over on his return, and tried to achieve his goals. The Treaty of Paris in 1259 settled disputes with England. Relations between these two countries were peaceful for the rest of Louis' life. Another dispute with the king of Aragon ended with a treaty in 1258. Many disputes between nobles within France and involving surrounding countries were referred to Louis. His sterling moral reputation made him a judge whose authority was respected. This was not only true of the nobility. Louis would often hear disputes between subjects and render judgment. Louis applied his energy to reforming justice throughout his realm. This meant keeping an eye on officials, and prosecution when corruption was discovered. Louis was rewarded with an increasingly prosperous realm. As discussed earlier, trade conducted through the fairs of Champagne was growing. The physical evidence of cathedrals showed the growing wealth of towns. Louis could see evidence of this in the city of his residence, Paris. Paris was notorious in the late 1250s for crime and disorder. Louis initiated a reform of the city government in 1260. The mayor of Paris was directly responsible to the king, so that after 1270 the single undisputed master of Paris was the king.

The remaining years of Louis' reign were quiet, prosperous years for France. Foreign affairs were more active. Louis was involved in the baronial war in England. His judgments in favor of his brother-in-law Henry III were not accepted. After the death of Simon de Montfort, Louis was asked to render judgment in the case of Simon's wife and son against the rulers of England. Remember Simon was married to Eleanor, the sister of Henry III. Eleanor claimed lands in England as part of her dower. Henry and his son Edward denied these claims, and would not allow Simon's son Aimery to claim lands Simon had left Aimery. Louis ruled in favor of Eleanor and Aimery. Henry and Edward refused to honor the judgment, and expelled Eleanor and Aimery from England. Louis took Eleanor and Aimery into his household, and helped resettle them in France. The main focus of royal policy now turned to Sicily. As stated before, all popes since 1245 had been trying to recruit a member of a royal family to the task of turning the Hohenstaufen ruler out of Sicily. Louis' brother Charles of Anjou had been approached before, and turned down the chance. Pope Urban IV approached Charles of Anjou again in 1264. Charles agreed this time. The particulars of this venture will be covered in the 1282 chapter. Louis approved Charles' proposed invasion of the

Kingdom of Sicily. A crusade was preached in France against another Christian ruler. Louis allowed a crusader levy on clerical income in France, and also allowed hundreds of his nobles to join Charles.

The sultan of Egypt, Baybars, was able to take over Palestine and Syria. Baybars was strongly anti–Christian. He thought he could reduce or eliminate the Latin foothold in the Holy Land. During the 1260s, Baybars gradually conquered Latin fortress cities in Palestine. Towns that fell with their dates: Caesarea and Arsuf (1265), Safad (1266), Jaffa and Antioch (1267). Louis kept up with the news from Palestine. In 1267 he called a council of barons and announced his intention of taking the cross again and returning to the east.

This decision was not popular. Anti-crusading sentiment was widespread among the barons, even those like Joinville who had gone on Louis' earlier crusade. Louis was poor financial shape. He asked Charles of Anjou to pay back his debts, which had become substantial due to Charles' campaign in Sicily. The Pope granted Louis another tax on clerical incomes. Louis was in poor health as well. Louis prepared his will before he left. Louis left his queen only a small bequest, and no responsibility. Unlike his own father, Louis left his domain intact to his oldest son, Phillip. Phillip had been born in 1245, so he was already of age. All other children had married well, except the youngest daughter Agnes, who received a large monetary bequest.

Louis put his house in order because he expected to die while on this Crusade. The money was raised and the forces gathered in Paris in early 1270. Due to Louis' health, the trip to Aigues-Mortes was a slow one. The expedition set off in July 1270. Louis was accompanied his son Phillip and Phillip's wife Isabella of Aragon, and his brother Alfonso of Poitiers. After leaving France, the fleet headed for Tunis, where the army was joined by Charles of Anjou. The choice of Tunis as a destination has puzzled historians ever since. There are no records to indicate how or why the choice was made. There is a school of thought that Louis had learned that the emir of Tunis was considering converting to Christianity, and wanted to encourage the emir. Another view is that Charles of Anjou urged his brother to go to Tunis. Charles was trying to collect tribute from the emir, which the emir had paid to Charles' Hohenstaufen predecessors as King of Sicily. In any event, the fleet landed near Tunis. The army came ashore, and won several easy victories against the emir's forces outside Tunis. However, this was the sickly season, and several different diseases hit the French forces. Already in a weakened state, Louis IX succumbed on August 25, 1270.

Charles took over command of the crusader force. Charles and his nephew, now King Phillip III, made peace with the emir on good terms for Charles. Edward, Crown Prince of England arrived in Tunis just after the peace was made and the French were preparing to sail for home. Edward sailed on to the Holy Land, where he remained until his father died in 1272. The French returned via Italy. Several leaders of this crusade died on the trip, including Phillip's wife, Alfonso of Poitiers and his wife. Phillip arrived back in France in 1271, along with the bones of Louis. These bones were buried at St. Denis, the burial place of French kings. The bones became the focus of a growing cult. Louis IX was canonized as St. Louis in 1297. Louis' wife Margaret of Provence survived him by twenty-five years. She hated Charles of Anjou, and forbade her son King Phillip III to make any pact or alliance with Charles.

Louis was the last prominent leader in Europe who tried to take effective actions to recover the Holy Land. He was not successful, as we have outlined. By the time he went east in 1270, the impulse to go to the Holy Land had died out in Europe. Crusading was still used as a justification for battles against non–Christians, but no one was willing to travel to the Holy Land for this purpose. Crusades now took place in southern Spain and along the Baltic. Louis personified the end of crusading spirit as defined in the late 11th and 12th centuries.

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28

1277—Mongol Actions in Southeast Asia

Khubilai Khan's defeat of his brother Arik Boke in 1264 freed up forces for use elsewhere. The main Mongol military effort in the east was directed against the remnant of Sung China for the period from 1265 to 1279. Even before 1265, most of what is now western China and Tibet had fallen to the Mongols. Their prior campaigns against China had involved large armies sweeping down from the Ordos Loop through Tibet and western China. These armies had conquered Tibet and western China. Military requirements in northern China and Mongolia had delayed these armies heading east. But Mongol government was set up in western China and Tibet. When Khubilai started his new campaign against the Sung, he attacked from the north. The garrison forces and governors in western China and Tibet were available for other military actions.

Khubilai sent envoys to all the states of southeast Asia demanding tokens of submission. Some smaller states submitted on receipt of the demand. Good relations were maintained between the Mongols and the Khmer state. The same was true between the Mongols and the Thais. Thai polities were emerging on the scene in the middle of the 13th century. These polities were carving out territories in the Khmer state. The ruler of Khmer, Jayavarman VIII, was the longest reigning ruler of Khmer, ruling from 1243 to 1295. Jayavarman could not resist the Thais. During his reign, most of what is today Thailand was taken from him, by various Thai leaders. Both Jayavarman and the various Thai leaders were able to keep the Mongols away from them by giving tokens of submission, hence keeping the Mongols at a distance. Other states in southeast Asia were not so fortunate.

Neither the Khmer state nor the Thai states bordered with the Mongol-held territories in southwest China or Tibet. That was not the case for two polities of this area, Pagan and Annam. Pagan was based in the Irrawaddy valley, and its borders were similar to present day Myanmar (Burma). Pagan had been expanding northward up the Irrawaddy since its founding. By 1236 there was a post at Bhamo on the Irrawaddy. Bhamo is quite close to the Chinese border. By 1270, this Chinese territory was occupied by the Mongols, who established a

military government. In 1270, the Pagan ruler was Narathihapate. He ruled the kingdom from 1256 to 1287. Narathihapate was a brutal despot, who commemorated his completion of a great pagoda by having an inscription carved stating that he was “supreme commander of a vast army of 36 million soldiers, the swallower of 300 dishes of curry daily, and possessor of 3000 concubines.” The pagoda with this inscription took six years to build, and inspired a Burmese proverb stating, “The pagoda is finished and a great country is ruined.” (Hall, p. 156).

In 1271, the Mongol viceroy in Yunnan province (the Chinese province bordering Pagan) was ordered by Khubilai to send envoys to Pagan asking for tribute. Narathihapate refused to receive them, and the envoys returned to Yunnan. Showing the distance involved, it was two years before new envoys were sent to Pagan. The new envoys were from the imperial court of Khubilai. This time Narathihapate had the envoys seized and executed. There was a small border state between Pagan and Yunnan called Kaungai. Kaungai had submitted to Khubilai, and had a tributary relationship with the Mongol Empire. After executing the envoys, Narathihapte attacked and occupied Kaungai. Khubilai could not ignore such defiance. Even though Khubilai was in the midst of his conquest of China, he took action against Pagan.

In 1277, Khubilai ordered the governor of Yunnan to lead an expedition against Pagan to avenge the loss of the envoys and Kaungai. Two people were present during this campaign on the Mongol side who personify how the Mongols governed such a vast realm. The governor of Yunnan was Sayaid Ajall, a Muslim. Khubilai’s relationship with Islam was rocky. There were times when Islamic leaders in Central Asia issued rulings that Khubilai’s laws did not apply to Muslims, as Khubilai was a polytheist. At other times, Khubilai and Islamic leaders got along. Some of Khubilai’s relatives became Muslims, like the leaders of the Golden Horde. Khubilai tried to judge individual Muslims on an individual basis, and promoted some. Sayaid Ajall was one of these trusted Muslims, and was given rule of Yunnan after its conquest in 1265. The leader of the Mongol forces sent to Pagan was Sayaid’s son, Nasir al-Din. Nasir was accompanied by a young Venetian, Marco Polo. Marco appears to have been a representative of Khubilai, keeping an eye on things for the Khan. We will discuss Marco in detail later, but his is the only first-hand account of this expedition.

A part of Nasir’s force met the forces of Narathihapate at Ngasaunggyan. The Mongol force was one touman (10,000 men) of

cavalry. The forces of Pagan outnumbered them, and had war elephants. Nasir had his men tether their horses to trees in a forest, and line up in front of the forest where the ground was clear. On the advance of the Burmese forces, the Mongols were ordered to take aim at the elephants, which were unprotected. In the words of Marco Polo:

> You may know that so great was the number of arrows in this beginning and all at the mark of the elephants … that they were wounded on every side of the body. And when the elephants were so wounded as I have told you … and felt the pain of the wounds of the pellets which came in such numbers like rain, and were frightened by the great noice of the shouting, I tell you that they all turn themselves in rout & in flight towards the people of the king with so great an uproar that it seems that the whole world must be rent, putting the army of the king of Mien (Pagan) into the greatest confusion [Rossabi, p. 215].

After this first action, the battle proceeded for a time with no clear-cut winner. Slowly the Mongols gained the upper hand, and per Marco the Burmese "were beginning to turn the back … and when the Mongols saw that those were turned in flight they go beating and chasing and killing them so evilly that it was a pity to see" (Rossabi, p. 215).

There was another wing of Nasir's attack. This force marched through mountains and jungle to the Pagan fortress of Bhamo. After destroying some Burmese outposts, this force retired due to the excessive heat and humidity. The Burmese regained their confidence, and started to raid Yunnan again. The Mongols returned in 1283, defeated the Pagan forces in the upper Irrawaddy valley, and set up garrison cities there. Narathihapate fled his capital, and took refuge in the delta of the Irrawaddy, near present Rangoon. In 1287 Narathihapate tried to move north, but was murdered by one of his sons. In this same year, one of Khubilai's grandsons led a force down the Irrawaddy and occupied Pagan. Marco Polo traveled through this area soon afterward, and left a description of Pagan. The sole surviving son of Narathihapate was recruited to be Mongol governor of Burma. This status remained for the remainder of the century.

By 1260, what is now Vietnam consisted of two kingdoms. Annam was in the north, and Champa in the south. The border between the two changed constantly, near the 17th parallel used in the late 20th century division of Vietnam. Annam and Champa had been engaged in a spirited border war since 1225. This war ceased when the Mongols made their appearance in the area. A Mongol expedition took and pillaged Hanoi in 1257. Strong Annamite resistance repelled the

Mongols. When Khubilai took over in 1260, he sent envoys to both Annam and Champa asking for tokens of submission. Both kingdoms prevaricated and delayed. Khubilai had enough going on elsewhere, and ignored this area for a while. But in 1281, Khubilai sent a fleet to Champa with a 5,000-man army under the command of Sogatu. Sogatu's task was to put Champa under Mongol rule. He made the attempt, and failed. The king of Champa, Indravarman V, withdrew with his army to the mountains and conducted guerrilla warfare against the Mongols. Sogatu asked for reinforcements. With the distance between Champa and the Mongol capital of Beijing, it was 1285 before reinforcements were sent. The Mongols requested permission to march through Annam, rather than sending another fleet. Annam refused. The Mongol army, led by Khubilai's son Togan, was defeated in northern Vietnam and retreated to Yunnan. At the same time, Sogatu was defeated by the Chams, and killed during the retreat. Indravarman V sent an envoy to Khubilai seeking peace. Khubilai accepted, and left Champa alone for the rest of his life. He would not let Annam alone yet. Another expedition led by Togan attacked Annam in 1287. Hanoi was taken, but the Mongols were not able to bring the Annamese army to battle. Lack of supplies and an unfamiliar environment defeated the Mongols, who retreated back to China. Khubilai was so upset with his son Togan that he never received Togan again. This was the end of Mongol intervention in Vietnam.

This was not the end of Vietnamese military action protecting against the Mongols. That action came in 1292, as a result of a Mongol expedition to Java. As discussed in the 1237 chapter, there was a kingdom called Srivijaya based around the Strait of Malacca. The land areas of this kingdom were on the Malay Peninsula and on Sumatra. Srivijaya's eastern neighbor was located on Java. A kingdom called Singosari, named after its capital city, was founded in central Java in 1222. No written records exist regarding the first 25 years of this kingdom except a list of kings, which show very short reigns ending in the murder of the king. The first king to take control for a long reign was Vishnuvarhana (1248–1268). Archaeology has revealed that the kingdom's religion was a mixture of Buddhism and Hinduism. The kings were worshipped by the people as an incarnation of Siva, and there were many Buddhist sculptures and temples. The next king of the Singosari was Vishnuvarhana's son, Kertanagara. Kertanagara took over in 1268, and practiced the cult of Siva-Buddha. He had been initiated in the secret Tantric knowledge necessary for the welfare of his realm. This meant that his ecstasy must be accomplished through alcohol and sexual excess. A later chronicler dismisses him as a lustful

drunkard. A Buddhist poet called him a saint and ascetic. Whatever his private passions, Kertanagara looked to expand and protect his realm. He conquered the rest of Java. He took over the island of Madura, just off Tuban, the main port of his kingdom. This was followed by the conquest of Bali. He intended to conquer Sumatra. Kertanagara delayed this expedition due to Mongol pressure.

Kertanagara knew about the Mongol practice of sending envoys to southeast Asian kingdoms asking for submission. He initially maintained a watchful attitude to the Mongols. He was aware of the failure of Khubilai's forces in Annam and Champa in the 1280s. This influenced his act of defiance in 1289. Khubilai sent envoys to Java in 1289. Kertanagara arrested the whole Mongol deputation and sent them back with disfigured faces, per the Chinese records. Khubilai would not let this insult pass. He prepared a great fleet to go from south China to Java. This expedition was ready in late 1292. Kertanagara must have been filled with overconfidence. He sent his own expedition out in early 1292, to take over coastal areas of the Malay Peninsula and the west coast of Borneo. It seems he hoped to ward off the oncoming Mongol attack by seizing strategic ports on the route. But this expedition weakened Kertanagara at home. The king's policy had many opponents, who coalesced around Jayakatwang, Prince of Kendri. Jayakatwang's forces diverted the royal forces with an attack north of Singosari. Jayakatwang led surprise attack on Singosari from the west, capturing the king while he was practicing the rites of Siva-Buddha. The king and other members of his circle were captured and put to death.

The Mongol fleet left south China in late 1292. The fleet sailed along the Vietnamese coast. The ruler of Champa was suspicious of Mongol motives, so he had his fleet shadow the Mongol fleet, and denied use of his ports to the Mongols. When the Mongols arrived off Tuban in early 1293, they were dealing with a new king, who had defeated the ruler the Mongols intended to punish. The Mongols made contact with Kertanagara's son-in-law, Vijaya, who had submitted to Jayakatwang. Vijaya betrayed Jayakatwang to the Mongols, who met Jayakatwang's forces in battle. The Mongols won, and Jayakatwang was executed. The Mongols installed Vijaya as ruler who would recognize Khubilai as overlord. When the Mongols were split up into several detachments, Vijaya launched successful surprise attacks against some of these detachments. The Chinese admiral in charge of the Mongol expedition was discouraged enough to abandon the campaign, leaving Vijaya as ruler. No further Mongol expeditions were sent to southeast Asia.

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1279—Khubilai Khan Consolidates Power in China and Mongolia

All these expeditions were part of Khubilai Khan's push for expansion. Going back to the earliest days of Genghis as Great Khan, the leader of the Mongol empire was expected to add wealth, territory and population to his domain. Sung China was the main goal of Khubilai, and had been since he became Great Khan in 1260. Khubilai was occupied with the civil war against his brother until 1266. He then turned his attention to Sung China. Khubilai controlled the traditional center of China, based on the Yellow River. But over the last seven hundred years, the south became increasingly prominent. The south of China was more fertile than the north, and sea trade had enriched the southern port towns. The north of China had been fought over repeatedly the last three hundred years. A result of this was an imbalance in population. The best estimate is that the Mongol held part of China had a population of about 10 million in 1260. The best estimate for the reduced Sung state was about 50 million. The land of south China was unfamiliar to Mongol troops. There were no open grasslands. Fodder for horses was scarce, as all available land in south China was planted with crops for humans. The heat and humidity was different for troops used to the steppes. Even with these factors, the Mongols were well nigh invincible in open battle. Sung China was filled with walled cities and towns. Taking these fortified sites would be the biggest challenge on land. The Mongols also needed to develop a navy. This was necessary on the large rivers of Sung China, and along the coasts. These were military challenges. The Mongols had been overcoming military challenges for the past sixty years, and they would meet these as well.

Khubilai proposed a peaceful solution first. In 1260, Khubilai sent a Chinese envoy to the Sung, proposing that Khubilai become Emperor of all China. In return, the Sung would retain limited self-rule of the territory they held in 1260, and have access to land trade routes across Asia. The chief minister of the Sung, Chia Ssu-tao, rejected this proposal and detained the envoy. Khubilai released over two hundred captured merchants from Sung territory over the next five years. When military men serving the Sung defected, Khubilai set them up as

landowners, or allowed them to serve in his army. Sung raids continued. Khubilai sent a force into Szechwan province in 1265, which won a battle near the Yangtze and captured 146 ships. Khubilai was now ready for his main effort against the Sung. He chose to attack twin fortresses just north of the Yangtze in Hupeh province.

The fortified towns of Hsiang-yang and Fan-cheng were located on the Han River, about 100 miles upriver from where the Han joins the Yangtze. In the way that sometimes happens in a military campaign, all energies of both sides were concentrated here. The Sung supplied both towns with sufficient supplies to withstand a long siege. The Mongols had driven Sung forces south of these towns, but could not send supplies to any troops south of the towns until the towns were taken. Khubilai ordered the imposition of a siege in 1268. This siege lasted five years. To take towns such as these, the Mongols had to use their newly developed skills of siege and naval warfare. The commanders conducting this siege show how Khubilai attracted diverse people to his cause. The leading Mongol general was Aju, a son of Uriangqatai and grandson of Subodei. Two Chinese generals led forces from north China. Overall command was in the hands of a Uigher, Arigh Khaya. The best military leaders the Sung had were defending Hsiang-yang and Fan-cheng. The Mongol forces started to blockade Hsiang-yang in 1268, eventually completing their encirclement in late 1269. Five hundred ships and boats were built upstream of Hsiang-yang by the Mongols. Prior to the end of 1269, river supply was possible for the Sung. After then, the Mongols were able to block the river south of these towns. A couple of fleets of river ships tried to get through in 1270, but the Mongols repulsed these actions. Khubilai sent seventy thousand troops as reinforcement at the beginning of 1270. In March 1270, Sung forces attempted to break out of Hsiang-yang. The Mongols defeated this sortie, and all others after this date. In 1271, the Mongols extended the encirclement to Fan-cheng on the other side of the river.

Another river fleet was sent by the Sung in August 1271, which was turned back as well. In September 1272, a force of Sung troops totaling three thousand tried to enter the city from the outside. This force made it to Hsiang-yang, but by the time they entered had been reduced to one thousand, and lost the supplies they were taking to the city. Even with these actions, the Mongols were still not able to destroy the fortifications. Arigh Khaya sent for expert help early in the siege. Another example of how vast the Mongol empire was is shown in who came to help. Khubilai got the request for siege help in 1270. He started looking around locally for this help, and could not find anyone good enough. Khubilai sent a message to his nephew, the Il-

Khan of Persia, for help. Abakha, the Il-Khan, sent two Muslim engineers on their way in 1271. These two engineers arrived at the Mongol court in Beijing in 1272, and were sent to Arigh Khaya. The engineers built the required siege engines in late 1272. In December 1272, the Mongols started to bombard Fan-cheng with the newly built catapults and mangonels. Fan-cheng fell within a few days. It took a couple of months to move these machines across the river, and build more for the bombardment of larger Hsiang-yang. Once the bombardment started, the Sung commander surrendered.

This surrender was a great blow to the prestige of the Sung minister Chia Ssu-tao, architect of the policy of resistance. Chia gathered an army at the capital of Hangchow, and moved north to meet the Mongol army that was sure to come. Khubilai sent his best general, Bayan, to lead the army from Hsiang-yang. Bayan was a Turk whose father and grandfather had served the Mongols. Bayan was an officer in Hulagu's army in the late 1250s, and Hulagu sent him to Khubilai with a glowing recommendation. Bayan served in the army fighting on the northern frontier in the battles with Arik Boke, and had been successful. Over the last few years, Bayan had served Khubilai, and impressed the Great Khan. Bayan was to be the overall military and political leader of the conquest of the Sung. Bayan, with Aju as his main subordinate military commander, moved down the Han and the Yangtze. The Mongols forced a crossing of the Yangtze at Han-kou. The Mongols won the battle, and afterwards "those who were beheaded and those who died by drowning were innumerable," per a Chinese account (Rossabi, p. 88). In March 1275, Bayan and the Mongols met Chia Ssu-tao and the Sung army of 130,000. The size of the Mongol force is not known, but the Mongols won the battle. During the retreat of the Sung forces, Chia was arrested by his opponents at court, and killed while being transported to prison.

During Bayan's march from Hsiang-yang to Hangchow, many fortified cities and towns were taken. Bayan marched with siege engines, and displayed these engines outside the walls of the nearest town. Bayan would send in a demand for surrender to the town, and the town would surrender or resist. The reputation of Mongol cruelty to defeated opponents, combined with Bayan's growing reputation for treating surrendered troops and city occupants well, was working. If the town resisted, the siege engines would be set up, and when the town was taken, the town would be pillaged and the population killed. Few towns resisted. By the end of 1275, Bayan's army was closing in on Hangchow, the capital of the Sung state. The Sung emperor at this time was a minor, so the political leader was the Dowager Empress. She sent an envoy to Bayan on December 23 to try to make an

agreement between equals. Bayan turned down this proposal, asking for the Sung to submit and recognize Khubilai as sole Emperor. Further negotiations were conducted through January 1276. An agreement was reached at the end of January after the Sung emperor described himself as a subject of Khubilai. While the Mongol army was getting in position to occupy Hangchow, two half-brothers of the emperor escaped with a leading minister. The Mongols pursued, but could not catch them. The emperor and dowager empress remained in Hangchow, and surrendered. After arranging for Mongol rule of Hangchow, Bayan took the emperor and dowager empress to Khubilai's court at Beijing. Khubilai treated these captives well. Khubilai's policy towards the population of the Sung state was benevolent as well. He forbade plunder of these territories.

While the Mongols had more work to do in conquering the entire Sung state, the city of Hangchow was a splendid prize. Contemporary foreign descriptions agree on Hangchow's magnificence. Marco Polo arrived in Hangchow soon after the Mongol conquest. His account was corroborated by later travelers such as Vassaf, a Persian historian in 1300, Odoric of Pordenone, a Franciscan friar in 1320, and Ibn Battuta, a renowned Muslim traveler in 1340. All agreed that Hangchow was the largest city they had seen, and probably the largest city in the world. None of the travelers from the Christian or Muslim worlds had seen anything comparable. None of these travelers could penetrate the world of the Chinese majority of this city. However, the city was under military occupation, and administered by officials of the Mongol empire, who were not Chinese. Marco himself was probably a tax official, serving the empire. Enough non–Chinese lived in Hangchow to allow a foreigner access to much, but not all, of the life of the city. Marco, a native of Venice, was especially impressed by the canals of Hangchow. Hangchow was the terminus of the Grand Canal, built in the seventh century which linked north and south China. Hangchow was the best example of the wealth of the Sung state. Now the Mongols intended to take the rest of the empire.

While many servants of the Sung surrendered, some elements held out until the end. Bayan sent Arigh Khaya south, where Arigh took two large cities in 1276. The Sung loyalists ignored these omens, and held a coronation ceremony on June 14, 1276, crowning the seven-year-old half-brother of the emperor held by Khubilai. A child emperor would not be an effective military leader. Four subordinate military leaders arose, and they fought among themselves for influence. The Sung forces were not effective, and continued to retreat under Mongol pressure. Arigh Khaya advanced along the southeast coast of China with a force of 30,000 men, and naval support. The Sung emperor and

army sought sanctuary in the port city of Fu-chou, but Arigh Khaya kept the pressure on. The Sung contingent moved south to the port city of Chuan-Chou, and had to deal with the local port official, P'u shou-keng. P'u is notable as an example of the power of a local official, and as an example of someone of foreign parentage rising in China. P'u was from a family of Arab merchants who had moved to southeast China, intermarried and prospered. P'u negotiated with both sides, and sided with the Mongols. P'u had control of naval forces in Chuan-Chou, and used them to help the Mongols expel the Sung.

The Sung court and forces spent the next three years moving along the southeast and south coast of China. No viable Sung forces remained on the mainland, and now the Sung state consisted of whatever port or island the court established itself. This pursuit continued after the death of the boy emperor (half brother of the emperor captive in Beijing) on May 8, 1278. The Sung refugees realized they could not get back to the mainland. They set out for Champa, where they felt they could secure support from residents of Chinese background. This fleet was caught by the Mongols, and defeated on March 19, 1279. The ships that survived this battle made their way to Champa, where they remained. The Mongols had now conquered the whole of China. Steppe peoples had been raiding and attacking China for over two thousand years. Now a steppe people conquered the entire Chinese state. Khubilai had been styling himself as Emperor of China, or the Son of Heaven, for about twenty years. Now he really was. Khubilai and his successors are known in Chinese history as the Yuan (Outland) dynasty.

Khubilai was a prime example of the final Chinese weapon against a conqueror, absorption. Khubilai was born a Mongol, and tried to remain faithful to this heritage while ruling a vast empire. While Khubilai used some Chinese as subordinates, he never fully trusted ethnic Chinese to carry out his policies in their homelands. He used people of other ethnic backgrounds as subordinate rulers in China. Even doing this, Khubilai was considered a traitor to his heritage by some of the rulers in the Mongol homeland and Central Asia. There were many military actions initiated by Khubilai against southeast Asia, Sung China, Korea, and Japan. None were as dangerous as conflicts with other Mongols. We reviewed the conflict with his brother Arik Boke earlier. Another conflict with a Mongol state arose in 1269.

A grandson of Ogedai, Qaidu, was the khan of an area now on the border between China and Kazakhstan. Qaidu was an upholder of the old Mongol ways. He felt that Khubilai and all the Mongols in China

were becoming Chinese, and wanted to reestablish a true nomadic empire in Mongolia and Central Asia. Qaidu first attacked his western neighbor the khanate of Jagatai. Qaidu drove them back south of the Aral Sea in 1269, and confined the khanate of Jagatai to the area between the Oxus and Jaxartes Rivers. Khubilai sent his fourth son, Nomokhan, north to confront Qaidu if he came east. Nomokhan arrived in 1271, and spent the four years in western Mongolia trying to drive Qaidu back. Nomokhan was unsuccessful, and Khubilai sent a representative to sort this out. The representative got involved in the infighting among the generals. Nomokhan's army set out to attack Qaidu in 1276. During the march, two of the leading generals seized Nomokhan and declared for Qaidu. Qaidu then marched east and took Karakorum. This was a more severe threat to Khubilai than anything that could arise in the south.

Khubilai assigned Bayan to settle this problem. Bayan led an expedition that took Karakorum. He then marched west, defeating the forces that had defected. After pursuit into present day Kirghizstan, Bayan defeated these forces again, and captured the two generals who had defected. This happened in late 1277, and Bayan sent the generals to Khubilai. Khubilai pardoned one general, and exiled the other. In 1278, Nomokhan was released back to Khubilai. This secured peace on this frontier for the next nine years. During that time, Qaidu wove together a coalition of several descendants of Genghis Khan who ruled small territories in Mongolia and Central Asia. Khubilai was not paying attention to this area in the early 1280s, so the alliance could proceed. Some of the members of this alliance resided in eastern Mongolia and northern Manchuria. If all could unite, there would be a rebellion resisting Khubilai from Central Asia across the steppes to Korea.

Khubilai became aware of this conspiracy in 1287. He reacted quickly and decisively. Getting word that Qaidu was marching east, Khubilai sent Bayan to Karakorum. Bayan was able to repulse Qaidu, who returned to his own dominions. Khubilai marched against a rebel force near the Liao River, near the present-day border between China and Korea. Khubilai used naval forces to transport supplies to the mouth of the Liao, and personally led the expedition to attack the rebels. This happened even though Khubilai was seventy-two, and viewed the battle on a wooden tower drawn by four elephants. Khubilai won the battle, and captured the rebel leader, a great-nephew of Genghis. This leader was executed. Khubilai sent his grandson Temur to pacify Manchuria and the adjacent Mongolian districts. This was the end of Qaidu's efforts to influence events in the Chinese and Mongolian portions of the empire. He remained a threat in Central Asia until his

death in 1301. This entire conflict is symptomatic of the internal disputes in the Mongol Empire. While Khubilai was theoretically Great Khan ruling from the Pacific Ocean to the western end of the Black Sea, in fact there were five large and many smaller divisions in this empire. What effect these divisions had on trade will be covered later. But Khubilai's effective rule was confined to China, Mongolia and Korea.

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30

1280—Peru and Nearby Areas

What became a significant culture in Peru arose around 900. The people are named Chimu, and their state called the Kingdom of Chimor. Per their creation myth, a founder named Taycanamo floated south on a balsa raft to the Moche River valley. He founded a state that expanded up the river, then to other river valleys close by. The archaeological record corroborates this origin myth, showing that the first place Chimor rose was in the Moche River valley and that it expanded to an area covering the neighboring valleys. The capital of this polity was Chan Chan, near the coast and a short distance from the Moche River. Chan Chan has been extensively excavated, and is a main source of information about the Chimu. The Kingdom of Chimor was small during the first two hundred years of its existence, remaining localized in central Peru. Archaeological evidence, backed up by evidence from ice packs in the Andes, shows an interregnum in Chimor rule around 1100. An El Niño event dropped a large amount of rainfall in this normally very dry area, causing destructive floods in the Moche and neighboring valleys. This devastation caused a loss of centralized political power until the climate returned to normal. This happened sometime in the second decade of the 1100s, when large buildings were built in Chan Chan and political administration resumed. An important indicator of political control was the complex irrigation system controlled by the government near the rivers. The El Nino floods destroyed the existing irrigation system near Chan Chan around 1100. This system was rebuilt in a slightly different fashion after the weather returned to normal.

After the rulers assumed control, they dealt with the possibility of renewed flooding by expanding their rule both north and south along the coast. This process started in the late 1100s. Their initial move was to take the Jequetepeque valley, about 80 miles north of the Moche valley. Unusually for this area, there is a written account of this process, recorded by the Spanish from verbal sources after the Spanish conquest. There is a king list for Chimor, and it shows the king at the time of this military action was Nancenpico. Nancenpico sent a military force under General Pacatnamu to conquer the Jequetepeque River area. Archaeological evidence dates this action to

around 1195. The mission was successful, and Pacatnamu was named governor of this area. The provincial capital was established at Farfan on the Jequetepeque. Excavations at Farfan show a compound dated to around 1200, which is thought to be the residence and administrative center for General Pacatnamu. This land had been taken from a polity based in the Lambayeque valley, which is north of Farfan.

Around 1200, the Kingdom of Chimor had reached a size it retained for around 80 years. The king list for Chimor has a gap from around 1200 to 1350, so we have no idea of the names of the rulers. It is suspected that the Inca practice of allowing deceased rulers, or royal mummies, to keep their wealth, originated with the Chimu. This meant each new ruler had to conquer new territory to generate the tribute that would give him income. This process was witnessed by the Spanish during their conquest of the Inca. The practice is thought to have been adopted by the Inca from the Chimu after the Inca conquered the Chimu around 1470. This custom led to the expansion of first the Chimu Empire, and then the Inca. Each Chimu king had a ciudadela (palace) in Chan Chan. In the core city of Chan Chan, nine palaces have been identified. The ciudadela contains plazas, storerooms, kitchens, administrative headquarters, and a burial platform. In 1280, it is thought the population of Chan Chan was around 30,000. This was a city of display, not commerce. Royalty resided in the large ciudadelas, while lesser nobles lived in smaller adobe compounds. Artisans, necessary to create the goods used by the elite, lived in cane-walled structures. Farmers were excluded from Chan Chan, even though the irrigation water needed by the farmers was controlled from Chan Chan.

The Spanish were surprised by the lack of markets in the Inca state. This top-down control of the economy, with a heavy emphasis on redistribution, appears to have originated in the Chimu state. The evidence of large storerooms in royal and elite compounds is not matched by any evidence of a merchant class. In Inca times, products were controlled by families and royals. Farmers produced enough food for themselves, but others like artisans and administrators were paid by the state. While the exact working of this economy is not entirely understood, large buildings show that the government could mobilize large labor forces. One bit of evidence on how the workers were paid is in the large breweries near each of these building sites. Beer was brewed from maize, and distributed to the workers on state projects. Maize was a food for the elite, but a drink for all who participated in building projects and religious ceremonies. Industrial sized storage vessels and breweries have been found for chicha (maize beer)

throughout the Kingdom of Chimor.

In 1280, the Kingdom of Chimor was stable and prosperous. The extent of the Kingdom was from the Zana River just north of Farfan to just south of the Moche River. This small, compact state would not last. Starting around 1300, the Chimu state expanded both north and south along the coast. At its greatest extent around 1450, the state ran for about 620 miles from near the present border with Ecuador to just south of Lima, which made it the largest polity ever in South America before the rise of its successor, the Inca Empire. Provincial administrative centers were established in Tucume in the north and Manchan in the south to run this state. The Inca had been subject to the Kingdom of Chimor before their rise. After the Inca conquest, Chimu history was part of the memory of the Inca, and was recorded by the Spanish after their conquest.

Various products were exchanged over large distances in this area. Around 2000 bce, cotton was domesticated. Cotton was grown in areas close to the coast. Cotton was used to make nets for catching seafood. Hence, cotton was exchanged for seafood. Evidence of use of cotton in textiles still shows up in archaeological digs in Peru. The dry climate preserves textiles to the extent that four-thousand-year-old cloth has been discovered. When the Spanish came to Peru, they were clad in linen and wool. The Spanish soon adopted the cotton used by the natives for clothing, and for armor. This use of cotton did not originate with the Inca, but was inherited by them from the prior inhabitants of this area. Cotton was used in Peru for many functions filled by metals in other parts of the world. Even though iron was plentiful in the Andes, steel was never manufactured by any of the inhabitants of this coast. Tools were made of fiber or stone. Examples of this were the reed boats that are still used on Lake Titicaca, and the rope bridges built by the Inca, and probably the Chimu, over gorges in the Andes. Metalworking rose to a high level, but was restricted to the use of precious metals. It is well known how the Spanish coveted the gold and silver present in this area. The reason there was so much available was the long-term interest of the inhabitants in ornaments and vessels made of gold and silver. As the Inca Empire lasted less than a hundred years, it is likely many of the objects seized by the Spanish were in existence in 1280 in the Kingdom of Chimor.

In the areas of South America at the same latitudes of Chimor, new archaeological findings are showing possible civilizations unsuspected in the past. In a region now known as the Beni, evidence of human alteration of the environments is being brought to light. It now appears that in 1280 there was a large population in this vast plain

located in what is now north central Bolivia. The Beni is just north of the latitude of Lake Titicaca, and on the Atlantic side of the Andes. Many rivers flow through the Beni, en route to the Amazon. The yearly cycle in this area has a rainy and dry season. During the rainy season, the plain is very wet, and the grasses are covered by water. In the dry season, the plain is grassland. In the twentieth century, archaeologists and geographers observed large earthen formations in the Beni, islands of trees on raised ground on the plain. Originally it was thought that these were natural formations, however excavation showed that the mounds were man made, filled with broken pottery. The inhabitants of the Beni built up these mounds for agricultural purposes. There were parts of the plain that were used as fish weirs during the wet season, when the plain was covered with water and the fish from the rivers spread out to the wet plains. It appears that the plains were burned during the dry seasons, to prevent the growth of trees. In other words, a civilized people controlled their environment and developed a system of agriculture. Archaeological research into this area is just starting, but it appears a substantial population inhabited this area that is sparsely populated today.

This is also true of another part of South America east of Peru. There are now two theories of how the Amazon rain forest was populated before the arrival of Europeans. One states that the only inhabitants of this rain forest were hunter-gatherers, spread out in small tribes. These tribes supplemented the food secured through foraging with slash and burn agriculture. This meant clearing small parts of the rain forest, planting crops (mostly manioc) for a couple of years, then moving on to another part of the forest and repeating the process. They would rotate the fields, coming back to the original fields every 15–25 years. This was adaptive to the thin Amazonian soils, which are known to be deficient in nutrients. This theory, supported by ethnographic evidence, was argued by archaeologist Betty Meggers in 1971, and became the norm. However, new evidence is challenging this narrative. Archaeologist Anna Roosevelt uses data from recently developed technology to challenge Meggers' theory. One of the archaeological sites used by both Meggers and Roosevelt was on the island of Marajo. Marajo is a vast island, twice the size of New Jersey, located in the mouth of the Amazon. All parties agree there was a large settlement on Marajo from 800 to around 1400. However, interpretations of this site differ totally. Roosevelt's picture of Marajo that included a large city inhabited during the agreed-on time frame. The area occupied by this settlement was built up to withstand the annual flooding from the Amazon. This area was underpinned by broken pottery, as in the Beni. Other sites in Amazonia have been

discovered that are made of pottery mounds. This ground is called terra prieta in Brazil, and is still coveted as agricultural soil. It is unclear how nutrients are fixed in this soil. One account said that scientists think that charcoal has been added to the soil to make it nutrient-rich and regenerative. The amount of land subject to this treatment in the Amazonia is not clear, as estimates range from 0.1 percent to about 15 percent.

Either way, it is becoming more likely that large numbers of people lived in the Amazon around 1280. The first written account of the Amazon basin was done by Gaspar de Carvajal, chaplain of a Spanish expedition that spent five months floating down the Amazon from the foothills of the Andes to the Atlantic in 1541. Carvajal's account was submitted to the crown in Spain, where it gained the reputation of being a fantasy. One reason was that Carvajal said there was a tribe of women warriors who attacked this expedition, which the patriarchal Spaniards simply could not believe, even though it led to the naming of the river. Another was that Carvajal stated that there were many people living in the immediate area of the Amazon. As these people tried to kill the members of the expedition, it is not likely that Carvajal was lying. People who went to the Amazon more than 40 years later felt that Carvajal was mistaken about the population density. By this time, European diseases had done their work, reducing the population of natives by a large percentage. Current research indicates that the population of Amazonia was much larger before European contact than was previously thought. There are 138 known domesticated plant species native to Amazonia. Over half of these species are trees. It is now thought that some of the Amazon rain forest was planted by humans to harvest the crops of these domesticated trees. This entire field of research is fairly new, and contentious. But it is clear that humans, altering their environment in ways to improve their chances for survival, were active in Amazonia in 1280.

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31

1282—Charles of Anjou and the Sicilian Vespers

Charles Capet was the posthumous son of King Louis VIII of France. Charles was born in 1227. Louis' will stated that if his posthumous child was a son, his inheritance would be the provinces of Anjou and Maine. These counties were administered by his mother (as regent) and brother (as king) until Charles' twentieth year. Charles was given these counties to rule in 1247, becoming known as Charles of Anjou. A year earlier, Charles' mother and brother arranged his marriage to Beatrice of Provence. Beatrice was the youngest daughter of the Count of Provence. Her three older sisters married the King of France, the King of England, and the brother of the King of England. As these sisters were wealthy through marriage, the Count of Provence chose to leave his lands to his youngest daughter. Hence, by 1248 Charles of Anjou ruled three large counties in what is now France. He went from being a younger brother of the King of France to one of the richest nobles in Europe. Both Charles and Beatrice had ambitions beyond this exalted status.

Charles promised to go on his brother's crusade, covered in the 1270 chapter. When he left for Egypt in 1248, the nobles in Provence were opposed to his rule. Charles proved to be a good soldier on the crusade, but his mind was on his lands back in France. King Louis IX gave Charles permission to return to Provence in September 1250, and Charles arrived home in October. Charles established his rule in Provence by the end of 1251. In November 1252 his mother died, and Charles assumed the regency of France along with his brother. The regency continued until King Louis returned home. During this time Charles was offered the crown of Sicily by Pope Innocent IV. Both of his older brothers objected, and Charles turned the offer down. Charles tried unsuccessfully to become count of Flanders. This effort ended in 1256. Charles returned to Provence after 1256, and extended his power in the south. He acquired lands in the Maritime Alps, and on the coast near Genoa. There were revolts led by various nobles in these lands before 1262, but Charles put these revolts down. He allowed the final revolt to be solved through mediation by the King of Aragon. This was effective, and Charles had no more problems in Provence the rest of his life. By this time, a new project was

consuming Charles' interest.

As stated above in the 1250 and 1265 chapters, the overriding fact of politics in western Europe since 1245 was the feud between the Papacy and the Hohenstaufen. The official beginning of this dispute was the papal deposition of Frederick II as King of Sicily and Holy Roman Emperor, declared in 1245. Since that time, three popes had tried to secure new rulers in both of these realms. After Frederick's death, his legitimate son Conrad was elected Holy Roman Emperor, even though his election was not ratified by Pope Innocent IV. Conrad also inherited the Kingdom of Sicily. Conrad named his half-brother Manfred as regent in the Kingdom until Conrad could come and set up his own administration. Conrad came to the Kingdom in 1252. Conrad negotiated with Pope Innocent until 1254, when Innocent excommunicated Conrad in February. Conrad intended to attack papal forces later in this year, but Conrad died in April 1254. Conrad had a two-year-old son living in Bavaria. Conrad knew that his son, known as Conradin, would not succeed to the Empire. He hoped his son could inherit the Kingdom, but got no support from the Pope. Manfred was the Hohenstaufen on the scene in the Kingdom, and moved to establish his power. Manfred and Innocent made an agreement in September where the Kingdom was to pass under papal control, and Manfred was to rule in the pope's name. This agreement lasted a month. Manfred attacked and defeated papal forces in early November. Innocent had gone to Naples and declared himself overlord of the Kingdom. The news of Manfred's success was enough of a shock that Innocent died on December 7, 1254. Innocent's untiring campaign against the Hohenstaufen had resulted in success in the Empire, but failure in the Kingdom.

The new pope was elected five days later and took the name Alexander IV. He continued Innocent's policy of opposing the Hohenstaufen. Manfred, claiming to be acting in the name of Conradin, established control in the Kingdom. By 1257, he had full control of the Kingdom on both the mainland and the island. On August 10, 1258, Manfred was crowned as King of Sicily in his own right. Manfred inherited many of his father's qualities, not surprising as he was a particular favorite of Frederick. Manfred was the person who asked Frederick to write down his knowledge of hunting with birds, and was a great hunter himself. He had his father's interest in science and learning, and was known as a very charming personality. Manfred lacked Frederick's overpowering ambition. His mother was Bianca Lancia, one of Frederick's mistresses. Bianca's family became very powerful in Manfred's reign. The Lancias were from Lombardy, and interested in northern Italy. They persuaded Manfred to expand

his rule north of the Kingdom. The Papacy was opposed to his rule in the Kingdom, and became even more opposed when Manfred's power extended north of Rome. By 1261, Manfred had become, through military action and diplomacy, ruler of most of Italy. He took over Sardinia. He defeated the Florentines in 1260. Most of the northern Italian Guelf cities submitted to his rule. Manfred thought about going to Germany, where the imperial crown was disputed, but remained in Italy.

Manfred ended up getting involved in the question of the Eastern Empire. Manfred's first wife, Beatrice of Savoy, died in 1258, leaving only one daughter. This daughter, Constance of Hohenstaufen, will appear later in this chapter. Manfred's full sister Constance had been married since 1244 to John Vatatzes, who was Greek emperor opposing the Latin rule of Constantinople. Vatatzes treated Constance in a humiliating fashion, ignoring her and openly living with his mistress. Vatatzes was opposed by another Greek leader, Michael of Epirus. Michael had a daughter of marriageable age in 1258. Michael arranged to have his daughter Helena marry Manfred in early 1259. This was after Vatatzes died, and Manfred took his sister back at the same time. Michael gave Manfred the island of Corfu and lands nearby on the Balkan mainland as Helena's dowry. Manfred joined an alliance against the successor to Vatatzes, Michael Paleologus. Michael Paleologus faced an alliance of Manfred, Michael of Epirus, and the Latin Kingdom of Constantinople. Manfred contributed four hundred cavalry to this army. Michael Paleologus defeated this alliance at the battle of Pelagonia, west of Constantinople. This victory led to the extinction of the Latin Empire of Constantinople in 1261, with Michael Paleologus becoming the new Byzantine Emperor. Manfred lost four hundred troops and some money, but gained new territory. By 1262, the defeated Latin Emperor Baldwin came west to try to raise an army to retake Constantinople. Baldwin tried to bring together Manfred, the Pope, and the French king for this purpose. All parties pretended to agree with Baldwin, but pursued other policies.

King Louis IX of France had enjoyed a good relationship with Frederick II. Louis felt that Conrad was legitimate successor to Frederick. Louis' opinion changed on Manfred's taking the Sicilian crown. He felt that Manfred was a usurper. In the 1265 chapter we saw Pope Innocent IV and Pope Alexander IV recruit Edmund, son of King Henry III of England, as a possible replacement for Manfred. This bargain was a disaster for England, and unsuccessful for the Papacy. After the death of Pope Alexander IV in May 1261, a new French pope was elected. Urban IV reviewed the status of relations between the Papacy and the Hohenstaufen, and determined that Innocent and

Alexander had been correct. Urban searched Europe for a prince to take on Manfred, and he determined Charles of Anjou was the right person. In May 1263, Louis approved negotiations between Charles and Urban for the Sicilian crown. An agreement was reached in June 1263. The terms were favorable to the Pope. Charles was not worried. He knew that if he gained power on the ground, he could deal with the Pope. Gossip at the time attributed his acceptance to his wife. She was thought to be jealous of her three sisters. Two were wives of kings, and the third was the wife of Richard of Cornwall, who had been elected Holy Roman Emperor. She would now rank with her sisters on the royal scale. This gossip may have had a factual basis, but Charles needed no encouragement. He had plenty of ambition.

Soon after this agreement became known, Manfred marched through the Papal States to reach Lucca in Tuscany. Lucca was the last Tuscan city allied to the Pope. Lucca surrendered to Manfred in early 1264. Pope Urban was encircled by Hohenstaufen territory. No pope had resided in Rome since 1241, when Innocent IV fled to Lyons. Urban was based in Orvieto. Charles of Anjou had requested a re-opening of the agreement with the papacy, and Urban felt he had no choice. These new negotiations were in process when Urban died in May 1264. The conclave to select his successor met in Perugia in September 1264. The papacy remained vacant until February 5, 1265. Charles and Manfred stayed away from Perugia. Both tried to influence the election, but at a distance. The cardinals knew that the main question the new pope would have to deal with was the dispute with the Hohenstaufen. They made their affiliation plain by selecting another French pope, who took the name Clement IV. Clement had worked as a young lawyer for Charles' brother Alfonso before entering the priesthood. He was a known intimate of the French royal family. Charles was assured of continuing papal support. Pope Clement confirmed Manfred's excommunication, and condemned anyone who supported the Hohenstaufen. Charles was elected a senator of Rome in early 1265. Charles took a force of a few hundred cavalrymen and archers by sea to central Italy in May 1265. This force slipped into Rome. Manfred thought this was a favorable development, now that "the bird was in the cage." The Romans invested Charles with his insignia as senator, and four cardinals (not the Pope, who still could not enter Rome) crowned Charles King of Sicily. Manfred led an army from the Kingdom to near Rome, but Charles marched out to a strong defensive position near Tivoli. Manfred felt he did not have enough support, and retreated after a little skirmishing.

The result of this preliminary encounter was to weaken Manfred in northern Italy. Manfred was still strong in the Kingdom, but his

support in northern Italy weakened. Charles had established a base of support in Rome, but knew he was not militarily or financially strong enough to invade the Kingdom. Charles spent the summer in Rome and then in France raising money and troops. On October 1, his force gathered at Lyon for the march to southern Italy. Chronicles say the army consisted of six thousand heavy cavalry, six hundred light cavalry, and twenty thousand infantry. It is now thought that this is an exaggeration, and the real number of total troops was around fifteen thousand. The Pope sent representatives to northern Italy to ensure safe passage for Charles' army. The Angevin army arrived in Rome about January 15, 1266. Charles asked the Pope to come to Rome from Perugia. Clement refused, but sent four cardinals to crown Charles (again) and Beatrice as King and Queen of Sicily. Charles wanted to leave Rome as soon as possible, for financial and military reasons. He took his army out of Rome on January 20, starting an unusual winter campaign. Manfred had remained in Apulia since July, passing the time hunting and administering the Kingdom. His lethargy ended with the news that Charles was approaching Rome. Manfred gathered his forces, but expected Charles to wait for spring. Charles' sudden march caused Manfred to concentrate his forces near Benevenuto. Charles reached Benevenuto on February 25. Both armies prepared for battle. Manfred was in the better situation, because Charles' march had been difficult, leading to a shortage of food. Manfred's army slightly outnumbered Charles', and reinforcements were on the way.

Manfred decided that the condition of Charles' troops called for an immediate attack. Battle was joined on February 26. Charles had an advantage of slightly higher ground. Manfred's army attacked first, driving Charles' front line back. Charles was able to get his second line of cavalry into the melee before Manfred. This turned out to be decisive. When Manfred's second line of reached the battle, Charles brought his third and final line in as well. This caused the retreat of Manfred's second line and reserve. Manfred was left alone with his bodyguard. Manfred had the option to retreat, but chose to plunge into the melee still raging. Manfred was soon killed, along with most of his soldiers still fighting. Charles was master of the battlefield, and of the 3,600 cavalry in Manfred's army it is thought only 600 survived. Charles' army entered Benevenuto, and sacked it. Later, Charles secured the body of Manfred, who was identified by Lancia family members captured in the battle. Charles ordered an honorable burial, but without religious ceremony as Manfred was excommunicate. Charles remained in this area only to refresh his army. Charles headed south, entering Naples on March 7. Manfred's

wife Helena had been at Lucera. On hearing of her husband's defeat, she tried to escape with her one small daughter and Manfred's three illegitimate sons. Helena made it to the Adriatic coast, but was captured there. Her entire family was imprisoned. Helena died in prison, and all the sons remained in prison for the rest of their lives. Charles thought that the hopes of the Hohenstaufen were extinguished.

Charles spent the next year gaining possession of the Kingdom of Sicily. Charles brought administrators from France to run the Kingdom. Charles had not been able to prevent the sack of Benevenuto, but after the battle he showed clemency to Manfred's army and supporters. Charles had debts to pay, and the Kingdom was now his main source of funds to pay them. The taxes already in place under the Hohenstaufen were collected, in a more efficient manner. This led to complaints against Charles. These complaints were directed to Pope Clement. Clement was sympathetic, but powerless. Clement was dependent on Charles. By late 1266, Charles had resigned his office as senator of Rome, and the Romans had elected replacements who opposed the Pope. Clement had not yet moved to Rome, and remained in Perugia. Clement allowed Charles a free hand in northern Italy as well. Most of the towns in northern Italy were now Guelf, so they theoretically supported the Pope and Charles. Clement asked Charles to bring an army to Tuscany, entering Florence on May 7, 1266. The Pope, who had moved to Viterbo, asked Charles to restrict his rule in Tuscany to three years. Charles spent the rest of 1267 besieging Pisa and Siena, the last towns in Tuscany that opposed him. During this campaign, Queen Beatrice died in July, enjoying her royal status for only a year and a half. Both the Pope and Charles had forgotten about a danger originating further north.

While most of northern Italy was dominated by Guelfs, Ghibellines still controlled some towns, and existed as minorities all over Lombardy and Tuscany. Italian Ghibellines had not forgotten Conradin, the son of Emperor Conrad. Conradin was fifteen in the summer of 1267. He was living in Bavaria, with his mother and her second husband. In the later months of 1266, kinfolk and friends of Manfred started to arrive at the residence of Conradin. These partisans roused the spirit of Conradin. He sent letters to his supporters in Italy. Conradin held a diet at Augsburg in October 1266. He announced his intention to go and claim the Kingdom of Sicily by right of birth. His uncles and mother tried to dissuade him, but in vain. He stated his intention to lead an expedition to Italy the following summer. When Pope Clement heard of this, Conradin was excommunicated, and Clement issued an anathema against anyone who worked with

Conradin or accompanied him on an Italian campaign. Clement believed his actions were effective. On September 15, 1267, Clement wrote Charles to say that he did not believe Conradin would invade. Conradin's army was marching through the Alps at that time. Charles had plenty of other problems. The island of Sicily was in full revolt. Sicilians had not been enthusiastic supporters of Manfred, but they disliked Charles' tax collectors more. Rome was in turmoil as well. One of Manfred's supporters, Galvano Lancia, led a small body of Conradin's troops across Italy, entering Rome on October 18, 1267. Clement could not enter Rome, and he excommunicated all his opponents in Rome. The Muslim inhabitants of Lucera joined the revolt against Charles. Charles stayed in Tuscany, not returning to the Kingdom until March 1268.

Conradin led a small cavalry army south from Bavaria in September 1267. This force arrived at Verona, the most enthusiastic Ghibelline city in northern Italy, in late October. Conradin stayed in Verona for three months. Conradin negotiated for support from other northern Italian cities. He raised some troops. Conradin sent his army under a subordinate to Pisa, while he traveled there by sea. At Pisa Conradin raised more troops and money. Conradin marched down the west coast of Italy, arriving in Rome on July 24. His route took him past the walls of Viterbo, where Pope Clement was immured. According to legend, the pope witnessed this procession from a high window, muttering that the lamb was being led to the slaughter. Three weeks after arriving in Rome, Conradin marched out with an army of around six thousand cavalry. He marched east, toward Lucera. Charles was conducting a siege there. When Charles received word of Conradin's march, he lifted the siege and headed to Apulia, where Charles expected Conradin to march. Charles was right, and the armies met five miles east of Tagliacozzo on August 23, 1268. Charles army was around five thousand cavalry, but had more experience than its opponents. Conradin's first line charged a bridge between the armies, taking the bridge. Many of the survivors fled the scene. Charles had been hiding with his reserve, and observed this setback. Charles held back, waiting for Conradin's army to scatter in search of plunder. After some of Conradin's troops marched east, and the rest were in the camp of the defeated forces, Charles led a charge. This charge was decisive. The part of Conradin's army that had headed east returned, but were defeated when they encountered Charles' force. From a disastrous beginning, Charles had achieved a total victory. Conradin fled, heading toward Rome. When Conradin reached Rome, news of the battle had preceded him. The Romans turned him away. Conradin tried to make his way to Apulia and join rebels there. He was captured

along with several of his companions. Some of the companions were executed soon after capture. Conradin was sent to Charles in Naples. Along with remaining followers, Conradin was executed in Naples on October 29, 1268. This execution shocked the conscience of Europe. Charles felt that the opprobrium was worthwhile. With Conradin dead, he thought he could reign secure in the Kingdom.

One might think that Charles' ambitions had been satisfied. He now ruled Maine, Anjou, Provence and the Kingdom of Sicily directly, and had great influence in the rest of Italy. The lands Manfred had secured in Corfu and the Balkans fell to Charles as well. He was a ruler on par with his brother Louis of France and King Henry in England. The Holy Roman Empire was going through an interregnum, as two emperors had been elected after the death of Conrad in 1254, and neither could establish control. This suited Charles, and he did what he could diplomatically to keep the Empire's throne vacant. Pope Clement died in late 1268. A conclave met immediately after the death in Viterbo, but reached no immediate decision. The papacy remained vacant for three years. This suited Charles as well. Charles wished to expand his lands in the east, with the ultimate goal of Constantinople. He was diverted by his brother, King Louis IX of France. As detailed in the 1270 chapter, Charles joined Louis on his crusade to Tunis. Charles made the best of this crusade, even though only his respect for his brother diverted him from Constantinople to Tunis. The treaty Charles reached with the ruler of Tunis secured enough money to pay for the expedition, and an annual tribute. The negative result of this crusade was the death of Louis. The new king of France, Phillip III, had pledged to his mother to never aid Charles. This pledge would not last, but was indicative of the hatred the Queen Mother Margaret, who never forgave Charles for losing her Provencal inheritance. After the crusade ended, Charles spent some time reestablishing control of the Kingdom and northern Italy. How he would proceed would depend on the identity of the new Pope.

Charles had been wise to wait. The new pope, Gregory X, would not approve of Charles' plans. Gregory had been in Acre when notified of his election, accompanying the expedition of Prince Edward of England. Reinforcement of Crusader presence in the Holy Land would be a main goal of Gregory's reign. Gregory took control as Pope after his arrival in Rome in March 1272. Gregory called for a council of the church in 1274. None of the topics to be discussed interested Charles, particularly union with the Church of Constantinople. However, he could not protest against such a pious hope. The other election that had been disputed, that for Holy Roman Emperor, would be resolved in the meantime. Richard of Cornwall, brother of the King of England

and brother-in-law to Charles, had been recognized by the papacy as Emperor since 1254. Richard had never been able to exercise effective rule of the Empire, and mostly remained in England. Richard died in April 1272. The other claimant to the imperial throne, Alfonso of Castile, was an opponent of the papacy in both Germany and Italy. He had no chance of gaining either papal or German approval. Gregory urged the imperial electors to meet and elect a new Emperor. After review and consideration of all the available candidates, two families whose descendants would be prominent into the 20th centuries came to the fore. Gregory decided to accept the recommendation of Frederick, Burgrave of Nuremburg. Frederick was an ancestor of the house of Hohenzollern, rulers of Prussia from 1415 through 1870 and Germany from 1871 through 1918. Frederick suggested Rudolph of Habsburg, Landgrave of Alsace, to Gregory. Gregory approved of Rudolph, who was elected and crowned in October 1273. The Habsburg family became rulers of Austria in 1276, which was retained until 1918. After the death of Rudolph, another Habsburg was not elected as Emperor until 1440. From 1440 until 1806, the imperial crown remained in this family.

These actions did not affect Charles directly. He had enough troubles in Italy. A dispute with Genoa turned violent. This low-level war was expensive, and took a toll on the fleet Charles was building for his expedition against Constantinople. Charles fell into the same trap as Frederick II in getting involved in the Guelf-Ghibelline disputes of northern Italy. This conflict lasted until peace was agreed in June 1276. By this time things had changed with the papacy. Gregory had called his council to meet in Lyon in November 1274. He summoned theologians to aid him in negotiations with the Greek Church. One of these theologians was Thomas Aquinas, who was living in Naples. Thomas died during his trip to Lyon. Charles was suspected at once of poisoning Thomas. This belief, which has never been proved, shows how Charles was viewed in Italy. Dante was convinced of Charles' guilt, and expresses this in the Divine Comedy. At the council, agreement was reached with the Greek Church. This agreement, which would not last, effectively scuttled Charles' hope of gaining papal blessing for an expedition against Constantinople. In 1274 this was not a problem, as Charles didn't have the money for such an expedition. Gregory was still trying to raise troops to go to the Holy Land. Charles gave him some hope, particularly by taking the virtually meaningless crown as King of Jerusalem. Charles was interested in using this status to go east and take over Cyprus, but was restrained by finances and the Pope. This was the situation when Gregory died in January 1276.

Over the next five years, three popes were elected. All were elected in central Italy, and the conclaves were subject to Charles' influence. All these popes (Innocent V, Adrian V and John XXI) were elected in 1276. Innocent died in June, Adrian in August, John in May 1277. All forbade Charles to proceed against Constantinople, but allowed him to retain control over Guelf parts of northern Italy. Charles asked for and received approval to act in the Balkans, consolidating his control over Corfu and coastal areas nearby. The pope elected in November 1277, Nicholas III, was not the person Charles would have selected. Charles had been ill during this conclave, and exerted little influence. Neither Charles nor Nicholas trusted the other. They worked together fairly well until Nicholas' death in August 1280. Charles was able to keep the peace in the Kingdom and northern Italy during this time. He was gathering money and ships for a possible expedition to Constantinople. He was resigned to not being able to take this step during the reign of Nicholas. After Nicholas' death, a conclave met in Viterbo. Charles remained in the Kingdom, but sent agents to influence the decision. The conclave could not reach a decision for six months. Soon after the New Year of 1281, the population of Viterbo began to riot against the cardinals. Charles sent troops to the town, and imprisoned the cardinals in a local palace. The cardinals were suitably cowed, and in February 1281 elected a French cardinal who had worked at the court of Louis IX. Pope Martin IV was ready to oblige Charles. Martin broke off negotiations with the Byzantine Emperor, which pleased the Greek subjects of the Emperor. Martin approved Charles' plans to attack Constantinople. Charles had been fighting with the Greeks in Albania and Greece, and in the Aegean. He now had the ships and money to fulfill his ambition. The expedition was to set out in April 1282. But it never happened.

Charles' intention to attack the Byzantine Empire was not a secret. The Byzantine Emperor, Michael Paleologus, did not wait idly in Constantinople. Military action was taken against Charles' forces in the Balkans, resulting in a standoff in northern Greece and Albania. Turkish tribes had started to infiltrate the Anatolian territory of the Byzantines, requiring military attention on this frontier. Michael wanted to keep Charles from invasion, but not spend the money necessary for military deterrence. Michael turned to diplomacy. Looking around the Mediterranean for allies, Michael found them in two places. The person on the other side of these negotiations was John of Procida, who in 1276 was the Chancellor of the Kingdom of Aragon. Aragon was in the northeastern part of Spain, and its capital was Barcelona. The Queen of Aragon in 1276 was Constance of Hohenstaufen, daughter of Manfred. John of Procida was the person

who brought Constance's interest in the Kingdom of Sicily to a high priority. John had a long association with the Hohenstaufen. John was born in 1210, and became a medical doctor by studying at Salerno in the Kingdom. John became the personal physician to Frederick II, receiving various lands near Naples, including the island of Procida. John attended Frederick in his last illness. Afterwards, John practiced in Naples. His patients included Frederick's son Conrad and Cardinal John Orsini (the future Pope Nicholas III). John served Manfred after Conrad's death, becoming Chancellor of the Kingdom. Charles of Anjou allowed John to retire in 1266. When Conradin came to Italy, John joined him. After Conradin's defeat, John took refuge in Venice. Charles confiscated John's estates. John went to Germany to try to recruit another grandson of Frederick II. In 1275, John moved to Barcelona, having decided that Constance of Aragon was the best hope for the Hohenstaufen. Constance and her husband Peter immediately took him into their confidence, resulting in John's appointment as Chancellor on Peter's ascension to the throne in 1276.

There is a legend that shows John of Procida traveling all over the Mediterranean, recruiting Emperor Michael, Pope Nicholas III, and several Sicilian noblemen to a great conspiracy against Charles of Anjou. Considering that John was over 65 when he was named Chancellor, and that records show him in Barcelona during the years involved, the details of the legend are false. But John was active diplomatically against Charles. In 1280, there was diplomatic contact between Aragon and the Byzantines. John personally knew nobles in Sicily who opposed Charles, and recommended these nobles to both Peter and Michael. The Byzantine Emperor could not act militarily in Sicily, but he could send money. It is thought that Byzantine gold was sent to some of the leading Sicilian nobles, for use in opposition to Charles. King Peter of Aragon made public his claim to the Kingdom of Sicily, through his wife's descent from Manfred. In 1281, Charles was building a fleet in the Kingdom, for use in his expedition against the Byzantines. Charles' fleet was officially to be used against the infidel, but Charles made no secret that Constantinople was the ultimate goal. Peter was building a fleet in Aragon at the same time. Peter stated that he intended to use this fleet against Muslims in North Africa. Few believed him. At a meeting with the French king in December 1280, Peter ignored and snubbed Charles of Anjou's son, to such an extent that Peter's brother apologized. By the end of 1281, the elements were in place for the confrontation. Peter expected Charles to take his fleet east in early 1282. Peter would be in North Africa across from Sicily, and could quickly move to the island if necessary. Emperor Michael was in the worst position, awaiting attack by sea

while fighting on his eastern frontier. All this high-level maneuvering was upset by a dispute outside a Palermo church.

In early 1282, the mood on the island of Sicily was tense. Charles of Anjou was an able and conscientious ruler of the Kingdom. But he was based in Naples, and focused most of his attention on the mainland portion of the Kingdom. The island of Sicily was used as a source of income. The administrators on the island were French, with Italians from the mainland as subordinates. The islanders had resented a government based in Naples even under Frederick II and Manfred. What the Sicilians saw as French arrogance made things that much worse. On Easter Sunday (March 29), French officials were caught up in the preparations for the expedition to Constantinople. A large fleet was in Messina harbor. Royal agents were spread out over the island, requisitioning grain, livestock and horses for the army and fleet. At the Church of the Holy Spirit in Palermo, Vesper service was held on Easter Monday. A group of French officials came to join the festivities. Many of the French were drunk, and soon treated the women with a familiarity that outraged the Sicilians. A sergeant named Drouet dragged a young married woman apart from her family, with evil intentions. Her husband drew his knife and stabbed Drouet to death. The French tried to avenge their comrade. The Sicilian worshippers were all armed with daggers and swords. None of the Frenchmen survived. After this scuffle, the bells for Vespers rang throughout Palermo.

Messengers ran through the city calling on the men of Palermo to rise. The anger of the islanders against their foreign rulers boiled over. By the end of the day, over two thousand French men and women were dead. Friars were pulled from convents, and told to pronounce a specific word, which identified French origin to Sicilians. Any friar who failed the test was slain. The local French judge shut himself in the old royal palace. Attacks by the aroused mob caused the judge to flee. By the next morning the rebels were in complete control of Palermo. News of the uprising spread throughout the island. Throughout the next week there were further uprisings in the rest of the island. In Messina there was no rising, due to the presence of the Angevin fleet. Two weeks after the rising in Palermo, a message was sent to the people of Messina, asking them to join the rebellion. On April 28, revolt broke out in Messina. The French were soon confined to a castle. Some of the fleet had to be destroyed by the French, to keep it out of the hands of the Sicilians. The leaders in Messina sent a messenger to the foreign ruler they thought would be most interested. Significantly, the message was sent to Emperor Michael in Constantinople. Many of the leaders coming to the fore in Sicily had

been recipients of Byzantine gold, funneled to them by John of Procida. Charles of Anjou had been in Naples in early April when he heard of the revolt. Charles was preparing for the expedition east. After he heard of the destruction of the fleet in Messina, Charles knew his dream of Constantinople was dead. The fleet and army gathering on the Adriatic coast of the Kingdom were summoned to the straits of Messina, to retake the island. Pope Martin gave Charles his full support. Delegates from the island came to Martin seeking his blessing. Martin refused to see them until early May, when he condemned them. On May 7, Martin issued an excommunication against the rebels and anyone who gave them aid.

The Sicilians were awaiting Charles' counterattack. He gathered his troops and ships, joining the force on July 6. On July 25 Charles led this force across the straits of Messina, and invaded just north of Messina. The Messinese had repulsed a smaller force on June 2 and retained their good spirits. Their leader was now Alaimo of Lentini, who had been recruited by John of Procida. Charles attacked Messina on August 6 and 8. Both these attacks failed. Further attempts were made on August 15 and September 2. A general assault was made on September 14, with no progress. During this time, the representatives of the main island towns were meeting to determine how the revolt should proceed. Their first appeal was to the Pope, asking for recognition of their independence. This was turned down. These men could not imagine continuing without a king. They did not want to exchange one foreign ruler for another, but could not come up with another solution. Constance of Aragon was the heiress of two rulers now viewed fondly, Frederick II and Manfred. Her husband's army and fleet were nearby in North Africa. A delegation was sent to Peter of Aragon, claiming that Queen Constance was their lawful ruler, to be succeeded by her sons. Peter delayed. His intention had been to invade Sicily after Charles left for the east. Further delegations from Sicily came soon after. Peter was eventually convinced. On August 30, 1282, the army of Aragon disembarked at Trapani. The rebellion initiated during the Sicilian Vespers became a much larger war.

Peter proclaimed himself King of Sicily on September 4, before the Commune of Palermo. Peter slowly advanced towards Messina. The defenders of Messina were not aware of the Aragonese assistance until about September 20. In late September Charles withdrew from the island, taking his forces across the straits. Peter entered Messina on October 2. The fleets of Charles and Peter met in battle on October 9 and 14. The Aragonese fleet won both battles, driving the Angevin fleet back to Naples. Soon after this Peter invaded the mainland. By the end of 1282 there was a stalemate in Calabria between the two

armies. There had been revolts in northern Italy as well. Peter was appreciative of this distraction, but knew the Ghibellines in northern Italy were only a nuisance to Charles. Peter hoped for assistance from the Byzantines. But Byzantine policy had been crowned with success when the Sicilian rebellion exploded. No Angevin invasion was possible now. Emperor Michael died on December 11, 1282. His lifework was complete. Michael had restored the Byzantine Empire to Greek rule, and had averted counterattack from the west. Now the Byzantines could afford to ignore the west for a while. The dispute between Peter and Charles would play out over the next few years, resulting in separate kingdoms, one based on the island and one based on the southern Italian mainland.

Of all the events discussed in this book, the Sicilian Vespers is the one that seems most related to modern insurrections. The origination of the revolt came from a popular impulse. That there was organized conspiracy against Angevin rule throughout the Mediterranean seems clear. But these foreign parties did not start the fire. The revolt was guided into a solution comfortable to medieval minds by turning it over to King Peter of Aragon, as a representative of his wife's interest. But the original revolt was spontaneous, and popular. The Sicilian vespers and its aftermath were a continuation of the process of impoverishing much of southern Italy.

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32

1284—The Hanseatic League and Northern European Commerce

In Europe north of the Alps, commerce was dominated by Germans in the 13th century. Italians were dominant in the Mediterranean and the senior partner in north-south routes. But east-west trade across northern Europe from England, Flanders, Norway on the west end to Novgorod on the east was mostly in the hands of Germans. These Germans were from many towns, and were not subject to central political control. Merchants were taking the place of Vikings, who had been keen traders in the years after they broke out of Scandinavia. Vikings led the way in seamanship, and established trading posts all over northwestern Europe, which became towns like Rouen, Dublin and Limerick. By the 11th century, trade in control of Scandinavians had shrunk to the northern Atlantic between Norway and Iceland, and between Swedes and Russians in the Baltic. German merchants were present in the Baltic, and had taken over trade between Germany and England and Flanders.

German merchants established close trading relations in England before the Norman Conquest in 1066. These merchants were mostly from Cologne. In 1267, the merchants of Hamburg, Cologne, and Lubeck resident in London joined together. This association, or Hanse in German, was replicated in other cities containing a concentration of German merchants. A concentration of merchants of one nationality resident in a foreign town was not unusual. The leading commercial town of northern Europe in 1284 was Bruges, in Flanders. In 1284, there were 16 “nations” resident in Bruges. These associations of merchants met in permanent halls, which contained offices for the merchants. Germans were one of these nations, along with merchants from other parts of Europe. These colonies of foreign merchants were called “factories” at this time. By 1284, German merchants had formed associations (Hansa) in four major trading centers in northern Europe. These were: London in 1267, Bruges in 1252, Novgorod in 1272, and Bergen in 1278.

What was different about these organizations was there was no king or large state behind these merchants. The German merchants were

from towns in the Holy Roman Empire. The Empire exercised minimal political and economic control in Germany. Hamburg and Lubeck had close mutual relations since 1210, when they adopted a common civil and criminal law. This association strengthened after Frederick II granted the status of free city to Lubeck in 1226 and to Hamburg in 1232. Another association was formed along the Rhine. Several towns banded together to protect their river borne commerce from bandits, and to try and reduce the tolls levied on passing river traffic by local nobles. This league was formed in 1226, expanding to include towns all along the German portion of the Rhine by 1255, when the league was recognized by one of the contenders for the imperial crown. The League of the Rhine tried to exercise political power by acting against oppressive nobles. This included destruction of the noble's castles, and military conflict with the nobles and bandits. This league only lasted until around 1260. However, it was the first instance in Germany where the burghers (leading merchants) played a direct part in history. The League of the Rhine was an antecedent to other leagues that arose in Germany. These leagues, such as the Swiss Confederation and Swabian League, became prominent in the 14th century. The Hanseatic League came into being in the late 13th century.

The leading products of this time were textiles. German merchants secured raw wool in England. The main area for processing raw wool into saleable textiles was Flanders. German merchants were well situated to handle transactions in both these places. The German factory in London was called the Steelyard. German merchants from various towns had formed competing associations (Hansa), based on their cities of origin. In the mid–13th century, trade with England was still dominated by merchants from the Rhine valley. Merchants from Lubeck, Bremen and Hamburg wished to break into the London trade. They were successful by 1282, when all the German associations in England combined into one, based in the Steelyard. The Steelyard was located just upriver from London Bridge on the north side of the Thames. The area was walled off to protect the merchants from the surrounding population. Even though the merchants were protected by the king, and enjoyed good relations with English merchants, they were not safe outside the confines of the Steelyard. The surrounding English population hated these foreigners, and was not shy about showing this hatred. There were kontors (counting-houses) in forty-five other towns in England, Wales and Ireland. In Flanders, the commercial atmosphere was friendlier. Originally the focus of the cloth trade in Flanders was in Ghent. In the early 13th century merchants from nine German towns signed a petition asking the city government of Ghent to allow them to form a Hansa based in Ghent.

By 1284 the focus of the cloth trade in Flanders had shifted to Bruges. There were many foreigners in Bruges. The main disputes in Flanders were between the owners of the wool manufacturing plants and their workers. Flanders in the 13th century is one of the first places where labor disputes mirroring modern labor disputes took place. The first recorded strike in history was by wool weavers in Douai (then in Flanders) in 1245. “In 1280, workers took to the streets in virtually every textile town in Flanders to protest working conditions” (Abu-Luhgod, p. 85). After this wool had been processed, merchants from Germany shipped it to Germany and points east. The German merchants imported grain, honey, salt, potash and timber to England.

In Scandinavia the products the Germans imported were similar. However, timber was an export of the Scandinavians, along with other raw materials such as furs, iron, and naval supplies. This trade was conducted through two places, Bergen in Norway and Wisby on the island of Gotland off Sweden in the Baltic. The trade of Wisby was in the hands of Swedish and German merchants until 1293, when Lubeck conquered Wisby. Lubeck and the rest of the Hanseatic League then excluded Swedish merchants from dealing with anyone but themselves. In Norway, Norwegian ships handled the trade with Norse settlements in the North Atlantic (the Shetland, Faroe, and Orkney Islands, Iceland, Greenland). Products from these places and Norwegian products were exchanged at the compound in Bergen for products supplied by the Hanse. The Norwegians were powerless against the Hanse. The complaint of one of the local kings shows this grievance:

> We are thankful for those merchants who bring us wheat and meal and cloth and linen and flax, for these things we cannot produce and which do the land good. But the Germans come hither in great ships and take away butter and dried fish unto the desolation of the land. For which they offer in return strong wines which intoxicate and demoralize my people. Out of this trade much evil has come and no good. Many through strong drink have got into brawls; many are injured by blows; other have lost their lives; and all have done foolishly. Therefore I have no thanks for these Germans [James Thompson, p. 170].

Hanse merchants secured grain on the shores of the Baltic. This grain came downriver from Germany and Poland. Ports handling this traffic were Hamburg, Lubeck, Danzig and ports controlled by the Teutonic Knights. The eastern end point of trade in the Baltic was in Novgorod. Novgorod was the chief emporium of all Russian goods. In the second half of the 13th century, there was enough unity in Mongol lands to

allow trade goods to come from China to Novgorod. Sarai, the capital of the Golden Horde (Mongol rulers of most of European Russia) was on the Volga, so goods reaching Sarai could be shipped north to Novgorod. Novgorod was a free city, and ruler of much of northwest Russia, having never been taken by the Mongols. The citizens of Novgorod gave the Hanseatic League liberal privileges. Their quarter of Novgorod was known as the Court of St. Peter, from the church in that section of town. This quarter was enclosed in a huge stockade. There were strict rules on dealing with Russians. No transaction was completed with a Russian without at least two witnesses. The Germans treated Russians with contempt, but were careful to stay within their quarter. The Hanse had another factory in Pskov, but Novgorod was their main center in Russia. The export products of Russia were honey, flax, hemp, leather, timber and furs.

The vast majority of the trade conducted by the Hanseatic League was water borne. As is still true, shipping expense was much lower over water than over land. One of the reasons for the League's formation was to protect their ships. The Hanse started to institute changes in maritime commerce. In important ports the League built lighthouses, marked channels and reefs with buoys, and licensed pilots. Much of the commerce was conducted on rivers. Rivers joined Novgorod to the Baltic. The great river system of Russia was used to ship products to Novgorod. Hamburg was well up the Elbe. Cologne was inland on the Rhine. The Hanse took measure to protect and regulate this traffic as well. One important exception to this in 1284 was traffic between Lubeck and Hamburg. The distance between these two cities is short by land, and long if a ship sails around Denmark. In modern times, a canal has been dug across the base of the Danish Peninsula. In 1284, the ships of the Hanse prevented others from sailing around Denmark. Goods from the Baltic were shipped to Lubeck, then transshipped by both land and river to Hamburg. The same thing happened in reverse. Absolute control of the route around Denmark remained in Hanse hands until the second half of the 14th century, when Dutch and English sailors popularized the route around Denmark. Another important trade was under control of the Hanse in 1284, the herring trade. In the 13th century, herring shoaled off the northern tip of Denmark from August to October. A traveler in the 14th century gives an eyewitness account of the normal herring harvest:

> Forty thousand flat-bottomed boats and five thousand larger vessels worked together harvesting, salting, and packing the herring. The witness calculated three hundred thousand men were employed. For fifty miles on the Danish coast, there were wooden huts for these men, along with houses for the workers for the

> support industries, such as shoemakers, porters, coopers, carpenters, smiths, etc. Ships were constantly going to ports in Denmark and Sweden, securing food and supplies. The herring ran so thick that you could cut them with a sword. Such a big battle of folk to catch such little fish [James Thompson, p. 155].

Due to Catholic limitations on eating meat during Lent, and the fact that herring was cheap, herring was the main protein source of armies, navies, and poor folk in northern Europe. Control of the herring trade was very profitable for the Hanse.

The decade of the 1280s was when merchants from various parts of the Empire joined together in a league. Inappropriately called the Hanseatic League (which if the first word is translated from German to English means Leaguely League), its official date of formation was lost when the records of the League were destroyed in a fire in Lubeck in the mid–14th century. But some dates are relevant. Lubeck and Hamburg made a formal alliance in 1241 to protect their citizens against robbers. Lubeck, Rostock and Wismar combined in 1259 to suppress piracy and to outlaw robbers. Lubeck and Hamburg allied to make a treaty with Bruges in 1252. Records of laws enforced in Lubeck about protection of merchants and goods turn up in 1260–5, which were copied in other north German towns. There were two origins of the League. “The Hanse was the fusion of associations formed by German merchants abroad, as in London and Bruges, with similar associations formed in Germany” (James Thompson, p. 151). These organizations in Germany and abroad combined by 1282, which is when the Hanseatic League was fully formed.

The main towns involved in 1284 were Hamburg, Bremen, Cologne, and Lubeck. Lubeck eventually became the administrative home of the League. The remarkable fact of the League’s formation and early existence was the absence of nobles. No political entity larger than a city in Europe was led by non-nobles. This does not make the League a democracy. It was a federation created by merchants, for merchants. Most of the over 100 towns that eventually joined the league were led by merchants. Some were free cities, some were ruled by nobles or bishops. But the economic forces that led to the formation of the League, which were still paramount in 1284, would soon transform it into a political organization taking political actions. Records for the League start in 1361, either because records were not kept prior to 1361, or those records were lost.

One political organization deeply involved with the League was the Teutonic Order. Several cities in the territory of the Teutonic Knights,

such as Danzig, Thorn, Elbing, Konigsberg and Riga, were members of the League. Most of the grain traded by League merchants came from lands controlled by the Teutonic Knights. Relations between the merchants running the League and the nobles running the Order had to be worked out. Nobles were not used to dealing with merchants on a basis of political equality in Germany. It took a while for this to be worked out, but soon the League and Order were working well together. They had their disagreements, as any partners do, but the relationship lasted until the decline and fall of the Knights in the 15th century. Many of the German towns on the Baltic shore adopted the Laws of Lubeck in the late 13th century, even though these towns had been founded by the Knights. These towns then became members of the League.

1284 and the late 13th century were the start of the story of the Hanseatic League. In the next century, the League would prosper to the point that it would fight wars against the newly emerging rulers of Denmark and Sweden. These conflicts came about because the commercial effectiveness of the League. The League started as a trade organization among many German merchants. Its main goal was to protect these merchants, from violence and competition. In both instances the League was successful enough that the growing states in Scandinavia, Germany, and Russia wished to curb the power of the League. This eventually led to the downfall of the League, but not until the 16th century. The last meeting of the diet of the Hanseatic League met in Lubeck in 1699. The League had been declining for a couple of centuries at that point. But in 1284, commerce in the Baltic and North Seas was in the hands of the merchants of the Hanseatic League.

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33

1286—Japan and Mongol Invasions

Khubilai Khan continued the tradition of the Mongols by extending his empire. This expansion process had been ongoing since the beginning of the 13th century. The rulers of various parts of the Mongol realm were still looking to expand, but finding it harder going. The Il-Khans of Persia had come up against the Mamluks of Egypt, and were had been unable to expand into Syria. The Golden Horde in Russia remained satisfied with their territory. Raids were conducted into eastern and central Europe throughout the later years of the 13th century, but the no further territory was conquered. The rulers of the central Asian Mongol realm considered an attempt on India, but chose not to take up that task. Even though Khubilai's military forces were heavily involved in China and southeast Asia, he was hungry for more territory. While the Mongol army was engaged in Sung China in the 1270s Khubilai's vision expanded to include another target, Japan.

Khubilai first sent a message to Japan in 1266, requiring the Japanese to submit to his rule under pain of invasion. By this time, Japan had arrived at a form of government that lasted, with some variations, until 1867. The institution of emperor of Japan goes back to around the 4th century, with the list of emperors starting around that time. There has been an emperor continuously since then, with many disputes and changes of power. The emperors were always dependent on civilian nobles throughout the country for support and local administration. These nobles eventually subcontracted warfare out to a new class, the samurai. Nobles had control of local government, and samurai were their enforcers. Emperors were resident in Kyoto, and held court there. Administration of the country was decentralized, and there were often small rebellions against decrees of the emperor. By the end of the 12th century, a new system of governance arose. Samurai were taking over political power, to go along with their military power. The first shogun was Taira Kiyomori, who ruled in the name of the emperor from 1159 to 1180 from the town of Kamakura near the present site of Tokyo. During a rebellion of provincial samurai in 1180, Kiyomori was defeated and killed. A leader of the opposing army, Yoritomo, led his forces to victory. Yoritomo then assumed the shogunate in Kamakura, remaining in control of the

government until his death in 1199. Yoritomo changed the government around, eliminating the remaining civilian aristocracy and appointing military provincial governors throughout Japan. The new government of Japan was based in Kamakura, and its headquarters was called the Bakufu.

Emperor and shogun were hereditary positions. A very unusual system developed in the 13th century, which continued for most of the century. Emperors were crowned in Kyoto, performed many religious ceremonies asking the gods for blessings, and had a large court. These emperors had no real political power, unless it was influence with the shogun. Several small rebellions were initiated by emperors, all of which ended in defeat. After the first of these rebellions was defeated in 1198, the emperor who initiated it retired to a Buddhist monastery. This emperor, Go-Toba, was still called emperor, and tried to influence events from the monastery. But he was not the emperor. The emperor lived in Kyoto in the palace. This situation, of having one emperor in a monastery and one in the palace, was the norm for over half of the 13th century. The same thing happened with the shogun. There were times when the shogun retired to a monastery, was replaced, and tried to influence events from the monastery. Both the retired emperor and shogun were succeeded by members of their own families. What made 13th century government even more convoluted was that after 1203, real power was not in the hands of the shogun. After Yoritomo's death he was succeeded by a son as shogun. This son was seventeen, and real power devolved to a council of family members. One of the leaders of this council was Yoritomo's wife. After four years, one of her relatives was appointed regent for the shogun. This office, called shikken, was filled by the family of Yoritomo's wife (the Hojo) until 1333. The Hojo regency was the government that ended up dealing with the Mongols.

Government throughout Japan in the 13th century was in the hands of the samurai. There were many shifting factions of samurai in the provinces, which led to several small rebellions against the central authority of the Bakufu. None of these rebellions threatened the rule of the Hojo regents. A rebellion initiated by the cloistered emperor Go-Toba in 1219 failed, and resulted in the Hojo establishing a headquarters in Kyoto to supervise the emperor. All participants in this rebellion had their territory confiscated and distributed to the supporters of the Hojo regent. The Hojo initiated a new legal code for Japan in 1232. Female inheritance of land was recognized. In 1249 a high court was set up for disputes between samurai, to try and cut down on private violence. By the time of the Mongol message to Japan, an effective government was in place. The Mongols addressed

their message to the king of Japan, an office which did not exist. But all responses and reactions to the Mongol threat were handled by the real leader of Japan, the Hojo regent. By the time of the first Mongol invasion, the regent was Tokimune. Tokimune was the eighth Hojo regent. Tokimune's father, Tokiyori, copied the actions of the emperor and shogun. Tokiyori's rule started in 1246, and he remained in office in Kamakura until 1256. In 1256, Tokiyori retired to a monastery near Kamakura, and named Tokimune his successor. As Tokimune was born in 1251, Tokimune was a small child at this time. A couple of assistants of Tokiyori became the nominal rulers, signing documents and such. Tokiyori exercised real rule from the monastery until his death in 1263. Tokimune took over rule in 1268 at the age of seventeen, after the first Mongol communication had been ignored.

A look at the map of northeast Asia shows that the first prerequisite to an invasion of Japan from the mainland is control of Korea. The Mongols took a long time to establish effective control over Korea. Expeditions had been sent in 1218 and 1231, which resulted in the Korean king fleeing to an island offshore. Koreans acknowledged the sovereignty of the Mongols. New expeditions to Korea in 1253 and 1258 resulted in the new Korean king coming to Khubilai and becoming a hostage. A revolt by Koreans against Mongol military occupation occurred in 1269, and was not suppressed until 1273. The Korean king remained in office, and had been totally suborned by the Mongols. Mongol records show that Koreans send thirty-six tribute missions to the Mongol court between 1264 and Khubilai's death. Korea had been pacified, and was now available as a stepping stone on the way to Japan.

There had been a relationship between Japan and Korea going back to the 5th century. There was trade, and Korea was transmission point for Chinese ideas. Buddhism came from China, through Korea, to Japan in the 5th century. In the early 13th century, Japanese pirates had been raiding Korean coastal towns. In 1227, the Hojo regent acknowledged this transgression, and suppressed the pirates. Japanese residents in Korea sent information to Japan about Korean politics. So the Japanese government was aware of the Mongol takeover, and of the power of the Mongols. Khubilai sent his first message to Japan in 1266, but the messenger never arrived due to the weather. Khubilai sent another message in 1268. This message called for submission of the Japanese to the superior power of the Mongols. Treatment of this message by the Japanese shows the uniqueness of their institutions. The message was received on the southern island of Kyushu, and sent first to the Bakufu. The regent sent the message, without comment, to the emperor. The emperor and his court were frightened by the

message. The court ceased celebrations of the emperor, and sent messages to the leading religious shrines for celestial aid. A letter was prepared acknowledging the Khan's power, and asking for a compromise solution. This letter was sent to the regent, who did not pass it on to the Mongol ambassadors. The regent sent a message to the representative in Kyushu to send the ambassadors back home without any response. The regent started strengthening coastal defenses in the areas across the sea from Korea.

Another embassy was sent by Khubilai to Japan in 1271. Again, the ambassadors reached Kyushu, sent a message forward, and were detained in Kyushu. The Bakufu ignored the message again. This time when the ambassadors returned to Korea, they captured two Japanese fishermen. These fishermen were escorted to the presence of Khubilai, who stressed his power and intention to enforce it on the Japanese. The return of the fishermen to Japan had no effect on their rulers. One more embassy was sent by Khubilai in 1272. Again the ambassador landed on Kyushu, and demanded a response to his letter within two months. The letter was passed on to the Bakufu and the emperor. The current cloistered emperor, Go-Saga, made pilgrimage to the holiest shrine in the Kyoto area, and soon afterward died from his exertions. The regent continued his defiance, refusing to reply to the Mongols. This was a virtual declaration of war. The ambassador returned to Khubilai's court, passing along information about the state of defenses in Kyushu.

The suspension of the conflict with the southern Sung in late 1273 allowed Khubilai to detach some forces from China for the invasion of Japan. Khubilai determined that he could ignore Japanese defiance no longer. Orders were issued to the subordinate Korean king to build a large fleet, and to supply troops for this invasion. The invasion force gathered from various Mongols armies in East Asia. By November 1274, the force was ready. The best estimate of the Mongol force was about 15,000 Mongol, Chinese and Jurchen troops joined by about 7,000 unenthusiastic Korean troops. These troops were transported by a fleet of an estimated 300 large and 450 small ships. This fleet first landed on the offshore islands of Tsushima and Iki, taking the islands from the small Japanese forces stationed there. The Mongol fleet appeared off Hakata Bay in Kyushu on November 17, 1274. The Japanese commander sent out a call for all samurai on Kyushu to gather, which was accomplished by November 19. A good thing, as the Mongols landed on November 19. There had been peace in Japan since the last large-scale battle in 1221. The Mongols had been fighting all over Eurasia since around 1200. The military advantage on the ground was very much to the Mongols. The battle on November

19 took its expected course, with the Mongols driving the Japanese back to their fortifications. Reinforcements were expected from the main island of Japan, but it looked like the defenders would be annihilated first. Nature intervened, with a great storm hitting the area that night. The Korean pilots and sea captains, familiar with this kind of weather, told the Mongol leaders that they would have to leave the shore for safety. The Mongol leaders chose to re-embark their troops. This was accomplished under cover of night. The next morning, the great fleet was gone, except for one ship that went aground in the bay. Korean records indicate that over 13,000 men were lost in the storm. The fleet returned to Korea by the end of November.

In 1275, Khubilai sent another embassy to Japan, demanding their peaceful submission. This time the Japanese executed the envoys. The regent made long-range plans for defense. The southernmost three provinces on the main island of Honshu were added to the defense plan of Kyushu. A large wall was built near Hakata Bay, and numerous samurai were stationed there. Arrangements were made to supply the large numbers of soldiers and workmen at this remote location. Building this wall took five years, and the Mongols were aware of this project. There were other places to land on Kyushu and Honshu, but the Japanese put their effort in the place where the attack came before. Geography and weather indicated that the next attack would be in the same place. The Mongols were preparing as well. Khubilai realized that Korea needed to recover from the effort put into the 1274 campaign. The Korean economy was devastated by the requisitions of the invasion fleet and army. So many young Korean men had been impressed for service, and lost in the conflict, that there was a shortage of agricultural workers. Food was supplied by Khubilai during the next couple of years to make up the shortfall. The main priorities of Khubilai in the years 1275–1279 were the final conquest of Sung China, and keeping an eye on his western Mongol neighbors. Sung China was finally conquered in 1279, and all was quiet on the central Asian front in 1280. Another embassy was sent by Khubilai to the regent in 1279, which resulted in the beheading of the envoys. Khubilai determined the time had come to finish the job.

This expedition would be massive. Khubilai planned a two-pronged invasion. He chose leaders from the three main nationalities who would participate. A Korean admiral was in command of the fleet, after the Korean king insisted on Korean leadership for the mostly Korean sailors. Chinese forces on one wing were led by an ex–Sung general. A Mongol led the other wing. Ships and troops were requisitioned from all over the Khubilai's realm in East Asia.

Khubilai's military leaders split the army into a 40,000-man army leaving from Korea and a 100,000-man army leaving from the central coast of China. The fleets carrying these armies were to meet at the islands of Tsushima and Iki and then attack Japan.

The expedition got off to a slow start in the late spring of 1281. The logistical problems of supplying such a large fleet and army delayed the departure of the Chinese wing. The Korean and Mongol wing was ready to go, and left Korea in early June. This force took the island of Iki on June 10, and waited two weeks for the Chinese fleet to appear. When the larger fleet did not appear, the Korean and Mongol army was delivered to Kyushu, just north of Hakata Bay on June 23. A couple of weeks later the Chinese fleet appeared in the Imari Gulf, a few miles southwest of Hakata Bay. The Chinese army was landed there. Both the Mongol and Chinese armies proceeded to Hakata Bay. The Japanese army took shelter behind the wall constructed over the past five years. For the next seven weeks, the Japanese withstood attacks on their positions. The Chinese forces, who had recently been fighting the Mongols, were unenthusiastic fighters. The Mongols were out of their element, fighting on a wooded island against well constructed fortifications. The Japanese were fighting for their native land, as most of the samurai stationed in Hakata Bay were from Kyushu and southern Honshu. The Japanese land forces were aided by naval attacks on the Korean fleet. These attacks were made by small boats that buzzed around the large ships, cutting out and capturing any they could. Stalemate had been reached by mid–August.

As during the invasion of 1274, nature delivered the fatal blow to the Mongols. On August 15 & 16, a typhoon hit Kyushu. This storm came to be known as the Divine Wind, which in Japanese is Kamikaze. How great the Mongol losses were is not clear. The Korean ship masters were familiar with the waters and weather, and tried to get offshore before the storm hit. The Chinese ship masters were not familiar with these waters, and suffered greater losses. In each fleet some troops had re-embarked before the storm hit, and were then lost in the storm. The troops remaining on Kyushu were cut off from their fleets. Over the next two weeks, the Japanese killed or captured all the enemy troops on Kyushu. Only a few ships and troops were able to make their way back to Korea. This was the most devastating defeat suffered by the Mongols since the rise of Genghis.

The Japanese military interpreted the storm as a sign of divine favor. The samurai thought they were representatives of a divinely protected people. Khubilai was insensitive to the military and administrative problems of this invasion. Khubilai proceeded with plans for another

invasion, issuing the orders in 1283. Merchants in south China were ordered to build five hundred ships. He requisitioned the Jurchen in north China to build two hundred ships. The Koreans were required to provide large quantities of rice. These orders went out in 1283,4,5. The orders were not obeyed. What had been destroyed in the failure of the Japanese invasions was the Mongols' mantle of invincibility. The peoples of East Asia were now aware that the Mongols were vulnerable, and undertook passive resistance to aiding them. Previous invasions had been very expensive in both men and money, and caused financial problems. By 1286, many reports had been submitted to Khubilai showing the difficulty in securing the money and ships for this invasion. Khubilai yielded to the opposition, and the planned invasion was canceled.

News of the repulse of the Mongols reached Kyoto on September 23, 1281. The cloistered emperor came out of the monastery, and led a procession to the leading Buddhist shrine to give thanks to the gods. At Kamakura the regent gave thanks as well. But the regent had to ensure the continued safety of the realm. New commanders were sent to Kyushu, which remained under military rule for the next few years. Reports from Korea stressed that the Mongols wished to invade again. In late 1283 the Kyushu defenses were brought to their highest levels, and every available man was sent to that military district. This threat was considered so serious that an anecdote reflects what was happening. A group of off-duty soldiers in Kyoto got into a brawl, and were arrested by the civil authorities. The Bakufu sent word to the civil authorities that every last man was necessary to man the Kyushu defenses, and asked that the men be remanded to the Bakufu. The men were then sent to Kyushu. All this military activity was expensive. The regent had to impose new taxes on his samurai and the rest of the population, along with their heavy military duties. The regent Tokimune, who had led the country through both of the invasions, died in 1284 at the age of thirty-four. The office of regent fell to his son Sadatoki, a fourteen-year-old. Many of the samurai and religious institutions felt that they had rendered good service during these trying times, and were looking for rewards. In the past, lands confiscated from rebels would be distributed to supporters by the military leaders. Now, there were no lands available. The Bakufu tried to divide up current landholdings, or find flaws in the land titles of lukewarm supporters. Disputes among these military and religious supporters were submitted to the Bakufu high court, overwhelming the court. In August 1286, the regent issued an order that forbid any new claims. The existing claims were enough of a problem. Even with this problem, Japan was in a good situation in 1286. Two invasions by

the leading military power of the era had been repulsed. Even though the current regent was sixteen, his advisors were able to guide him through any problems. The Hojo Regency had reached its peak of influence, resulting in a stable society. The Hojo Regency lasted until 1333, when a new family took power, exercising power through the office of Shogun.

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1291—The Status of the Crusades in the Holy Land and Iberia

Our last view of Syria and Palestine was in 1270. King Louis IX of France tried to launch a crusade to the Holy Land, and was diverted to Tunis. Much of the territory that made up the Latin Kingdoms after the First Crusade was now ruled by Muslims. The two major powers in what is now the Middle East in 1270 were the Il-Khans of Persia and the Mamluk rulers of Egypt. There were still some places along the Mediterranean shore ruled by Christians. As was discussed in the 1282 chapter, a three-year-long vacancy in the Papacy was filled by new pope. The person selected was not present at the conclave. Teobaldi Visconti was a member of the party of Prince Edward of England, who expected to participate in the crusade of Louis IX. After Edward saw what was happening near Tunis, he led his party to Acre. While in Acre, Teobaldi Visconti was notified of his election as Pope. Before leaving Acre, the new Pope Gregory X preached on the biblical text “If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning” (Psalm 137). Gregory attempted to raise awareness, money and troops for the Latin kingdoms during his term as Pope. He was unsuccessful. This was not the end of crusading, but it was the end of crusading to the Holy Land. Crusades were conducted after 1270. These crusades were confined to the continent of Europe

Prince Edward of England is another example of the fate of crusading ardor. No one could doubt that Edward had this ardor. He raised a force to participate in Louis IX’s crusade. After deciding he could not participate in the schemes of Charles of Anjou in Tunis, Edward accepted Charles’ hospitality and took his force to Sicily for the winter of 1270–1. Edward and his army then sailed to Acre in the Holy Land, remaining there from May 1271 to November 1272. Edward and his force were involved in numerous skirmishes with Muslim forces in this area, with no conclusive results. Edward was the target of an assassination attempt while in Acre in 1272. This attempt was attributed to the branch of the Assassins operating in Syria, which had been co-opted by the Mamluk ruler Baybars. Edward survived the attack. Edward and most of his force left Acre in November 1272. Five hundred members of this force were left behind in Acre, with Edward

paying their salaries for a year. While in Sicily en route home, Edward learned of the death of his father, making him King Edward I. Edward reigned until 1307. He continually mentioned that he wished to return to the Holy Land, but found enough to stay busy in his own realm. Edward conquered Wales, which held his full attention from 1277 to 1295. Then Edward got involved in Scotland. In 1296, he led an invasion of Scotland. This led to continual warfare there, and with Scotland's ally, France. Hence, Edward never returned to the Holy Land.

Edward was not alone among European monarchs. As was reviewed in the 1282 chapter, Charles of Anjou promised several times to lead a crusade against the infidel. Charles had a different definition of infidel, as all knew that the army and fleet he gathered in 1282 was intended for Constantinople. The new king of France, Phillip III, concentrated his efforts in France. The Holy Roman Emperor who took office in 1273, Rudolph of Habsburg, concentrated his efforts in Germany. As France, Germany and England had always been the main recruiting grounds for crusaders going to the Holy Land, very few other sources were available to secure new forces. Only one western European king attended the 1274 council run by Pope Gregory X. This was James I of Aragon, in northwestern Spain. James was another king who gave lip service to sending aid to the Holy Land. James was an enthusiastic crusader, but his crusades were conducted in Spain. The church authorized new clerical taxes in both 1274 and 1291 to raise money to aid the Latin Kingdoms. A possible alliance with the Mongol Il-Khan was explored. Very little came of any of these initiatives. Small companies of men and some money were sent to the Holy Land, which did not reverse the decline there. The politics of Europe worked against a new crusade to the Holy Land. The ultimate example of this happened in 1285. King Phillip III of France died while on crusade. However, the crusade was against the neighboring kingdom of Aragon. Aragon had conducted several crusades of its own, against Muslims in Spain.

There was one Christian success story in the Middle East. Cyprus had been conquered from the Byzantine Empire by King Richard I of England while on crusade in 1191. Richard bestowed the island on Guy de Lusignan, the dispossessed king of Jerusalem. Guy's descendants ruled Cyprus until the 15th century. Cyprus was the second home of many of the leading nobles in the Latin Kingdoms, such as the Ibelin family. The Ibelin possessions included Beirut, which was still in their hands in 1270. There was a large aristocracy in Cyprus, French in origin. These nobles were overlords of the Greek population, not interacting much with the lower classes. Trade was

handled by Italian merchants from Venice, Genoa and Pisa. This economic control turned political in the 15th century, when Cyprus became a possession of Venice.

The reason Cyprus remained in the hands of its kings was physical separation from neighboring powers. The Latin Kingdoms on the mainland had no separation from their neighbors. As stated in the 1270 chapter, the Mamluk leader Baybars had started the process of conquering the Latin Kingdoms. By 1270, Baybars had secured the entire Principality of Antioch, isolating the neighboring state of Cilician Armenia. This Christian state, which had been allied to the rulers of Antioch by marriage, made an alliance with the Il-Khans of Persia. Because of this alliance, Cilician Armenia survived until the late 14th century. Baybars continued his piecemeal conquest of Latin lands until his death in 1277. One of the great examples of medieval castle architecture, the Krak de Chevaliers, was taken in 1271. By 1277, one real Latin Kingdom and several other outposts remained in Christian hands. The County of Tripoli remained as a Latin Kingdom, which had the mountains of Lebanon as its eastern border. This County, which was roughly analogous to current Lebanon, remained under the rule of its nobles, who divided their time between the County and Cyprus. In Palestine, Latin rule was confined to several coastal outposts. All Latin possessions in interior Palestine had been taken during Baybars rule.

The Mongol Il-Khan attempted another invasion of Mamluk territory in 1280. The Il-Khan Abaqa tried to secure an alliance with the Latin states. The Christians turned Abaqa down. The Mamluks defeated the Mongols at the battle of Homs in 1281. Abaqa was preparing another invasion in 1282 before his death. The new Il-Khan, Teguder, was a Muslim. This allowed the Mamluk sultan, Kalavun, to resume attacks on the Christians. The first attacks were in northern Lebanon. The castle of Margat fell in 1285, Lattakiah in 1287. The capital of the County of Tripoli, which had been ruled by Christians for 180 years, fell in 1289. Tripoli had been under control of Genoa since 1287. It was rumored that the sultan was encouraged to attack Tripoli by Venetians and Pisans resident in the area. All the residents of Tripoli that could not escape were massacred. By late 1290, the only remaining Christian strongholds in Lebanon were Jubayl, Beirut, Tyre and Sidon. Sultan Kalavun had turned his attention south, gathering his forces to institute a siege of Acre. Kalavun died in late 1290 in his camp before Acre.

Kalavun was succeeded by al-Ashraf Khalil. Khalil continued the preparations, and intended this assault on Acre to be decisive. The

siege started on April 6, 1291. Acre had well-maintained double walls, and a harbor within the walls. The occupants of Acre could be supplied by sea. The Franks (as all Christians were known by the Muslims) had no field army, so they were confined in the fortifications. The total population of Acre, including the defenders, is estimated at 35,000. The army of the Mamluks was thought to have exceeded this population, making it much larger than the number of defenders in Acre. The defenders consisted of about 1,000 cavalry with about 14,000 infantry support. The Muslims had a good assortment of siege engines, throwing projectiles against the city walls. These projectiles made enough of an impression on the walls that the defenders attempted to negotiate with Khalil. Khalil turned down any offer of accommodation, insisting on unconditional surrender. The outer wall of Acre was breached on May 16. Khalil launched an assault on the inner wall on May 18. This assault breached the wall. Street fighting followed. Most of the Christian residents of Acre were killed. There were ships in the harbor. One Catalan captain, Roger Flor, allegedly made a fortune selling space on ships under his control to Frankish noblewomen. All of Acre was under Khalil's control by the evening of May 18 except the Templar quarter, which jutted out into the sea. This quarter held out for ten more days. There was a botched negotiation, which resulted in the execution of the Templar negotiators. The last building taken by the Muslim troops was a large Templar building. When the Egyptian troops entered, the building collapsed, resulting in the death of all the occupants, both Christian and Muslim. All occupants of Acre were killed, and the sultan ordered the city to be razed to the ground.

No immediate counter attack was coming. In the late 12th century, outrage in Western Europe had led to the Third Crusade, whose greatest accomplishment was the re-capture of Acre. No such impulse existed in Europe in 1291. By August all the remaining mainland outposts had been taken. Acre had been the conduit of a lucrative trade between Muslim merchants and Italians from Genoa, Venice and Pisa. This trade now had to find another locus. While the Latin Kingdoms had really been only a pinprick on a vast area of Muslim control, now this pinprick was eliminated. While crusades to the Holy Land were talked about for the next hundred years, no help was coming from Europe.

At the western end of the Mediterranean, this process was being played out in reverse. When we last reviewed the situation on the Iberian Peninsula, a coalition of Christian kings had just won the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212. This battle confirmed the shift in power on the peninsula. While there would be some small setbacks,

Christian kingdoms were now predominant. There would be no stopping the momentum of these kingdoms for the remainder of the 13th century.

In 1212 there were five Christian kingdoms in what are now Spain and Portugal: Aragon, Castile, Navarre, Leon, and Portugal. By 1291 the Muslim ruled area was reduced to the province of Granada in what is now southeastern Spain. This reduction in Muslim territory was driven by just three of the Christian kingdoms. Navarre had no border with Muslim kingdoms. While the nobles of Navarre were willing and able to aid Christian forces, there was no policy guiding their interest. Navarre was ruled by French kings after 1234, and these rulers were more interested in southern French disputes and Holy Land crusades than the reconquista. Leon was a separate kingdom until 1230. Before 1230, troops from Leon fought in the battles against Muslims. The final ruler of Leon, Alfonso IX, secured papal approval for a crusade against the Muslims. Alfonso IX was the ex-husband of the new ruler of Castile, and his son by that marriage became King Ferdinand III in 1217. Ferdinand let his father proceed with military action against Muslims. The forces of Leon fought against Muslim forces, taking land between the Tagus and Guardiana Rivers, east of the Portuguese border. After 1230, Leon became part of the Kingdom of Castile. Some independent institutions remained in Leon, but it was ruled by the King of Castile. There was no separate policy, and the nobles of Leon participated in actions against the Muslims under the auspices of the King of Castile.

This leaves the three other kingdoms. Their actions against Islamic rulers led to the severe reduction of Muslim-ruled territory. The Kings of Portugal, Castile and Aragon wanted to gain territory at the expense of the Muslims. They wished to gain the sanction of the Pope. There were many instances during the period from 1212 to 1291 when the kings asked the Pope to declare a crusade against the Muslim rulers. Crusades were not granted in a blanket fashion, but many of the campaigns were carried out after the Pope declared a crusade. The Pope usually tried to get the Kings to commit some forces to fight in the Holy Land. Except for a small force sent by Navarre in the late 1230s, these kings in Iberia kept their crusading to the peninsula and nearby islands. We'll go through the three kingdoms' progress one by one.

Portugal in 1212 had established its current borders on the north and east, and extended to just south of the Tagus. Lisbon, acquired in the late 12th century with the aid of crusaders from northern Europe on their way to the Holy Land, became the capital of Portugal in 1256.

Portuguese forces were present at Las Navas de Tolosa. Again, aided by crusaders from northern Europe in transit to the Holy Land, the fortress of Alcacer do Sal was taken in 1217, expanding the realm further south of the Tagus. When King Sancho II took over in 1223, more resources were allotted to the push south. By the end of his reign in 1248, the border between Portugal and Muslim ruled territory had been moved south. During the last three years of Sancho's reign, civil war racked Portugal, halting the reconquista there. Sancho's brother Afonso took over rule in 1245, officially becoming King Afonso III after Sancho's death. Afonso brought together both sides in the civil war. Afonso led Portuguese forces against the last existing Muslim realm in what is now southern Portugal. After defeating this ruler in 1249, the current borders of Portugal were established. Two campaigns against Castile were fought in 1250 and 1252 over this southern territory. Castile won the battles, but made peace by marriage. Even though Afonso III was still married to a French princess, he married Beatriz, the illegitimate daughter of King Alfonso X of Castile. The marriage agreement set the borders between Portugal and Castile. The marriage also led to a dispute with the Pope. The Pope placed Portugal under an interdict, because Afonso III was in a bigamous marriage. This dispute was settled in 1263, when the Church recognized his marriage to Beatriz, and recognized their son as his heir. Soon afterward, Afonso started a campaign to deprive the Church of property. This resulted in his excommunication, and the Church declared him deposed. Afonso ignored these rulings, and continued ruling Portugal until his death in 1279. By 1291, Portugal was established as a Kingdom within its present borders.

The kingdom of Castile was the largest Christian realm on the peninsula. Before 1212, Castile had been a major contributor to the Christian forces. There was a lull between 1212 and 1224, due to the death of King Alfonso VIII, the victor at Las Navas de Tolosa, in 1214. Ferdinand III became king at the age of sixteen in 1217. Ferdinand secured crusade status from the Archbishop of Toledo in 1224, and led a campaign that was temporarily successful. Almohad forces took back the territory in 1225. Ferdinand gathered his forces for the next five years, and secured papal approval for declaring a crusade when he was ready. After the death of his father, Alfonso IX of Leon, Ferdinand became ruler of both Leon and Castile.

A civil war in the Almohad base of Morocco was ongoing in 1229. Ferdinand moved south into the Guadalquivir valley. In 1230, Ferdinand was besieging the town of Jaen in Andalusia when he received word or his father's death. Ferdinand raised the siege, and spent the next two years consolidating his rule in Leon. He was

preparing to use the combined resources of the two kingdoms to take more territory. Ferdinand secured crusade status for this upcoming campaign. The local church leaders had been disputing Ferdinand's request for funding for this crusade. Pope Gregory IX ruled for Ferdinand in 1232, declaring the crusade and allowing the archbishop of Toledo to raise an army of his own. Ferdinand started moving south in 1233, capturing fortresses on the Guardina in 1234, including Badajoz on the border with Portugal. This advance achieved an unexpected climax when some Christian soldiers, aided by Muslim traitors, took over part of the city of Cordoba in late 1235. News of this seizure reached Ferdinand in January 1236. Ferdinand and a small force reached Cordoba on February 7. The local Almohad leader, Ibn Hud, appeared as well, with a much larger army. For reasons unknown, Ibn Hud withdrew to Seville, without aiding his soldiers remaining in Cordoba. After Easter, reinforcements bolstered the Christian forces. Ferdinand made an alliance with the Muslim ruler of Jaen, an opponent of Ibn Hud. After learning of this alliance, the Muslim defenders of Cordoba asked for terms. Ferdinand negotiated with the defenders, to the disgust of some of his subordinates. Surrender of Cordoba was achieved on June 29, 1236. Ferdinand allowed the defenders safe passage with their movable goods, and made a six-year truce with Ibn Hud. Soon after occupying the city, Ferdinand had Muslim captives take the bells in the mosque of Cordoba to the shrine of Santiago del Compostela. These bells had been taken from Compostela by the Arab conqueror al-Mansur in the 10th century, and moved to Cordoba.

Ferdinand spent the next few years replenishing his treasury. There was an ongoing war on the Mediterranean coast between Aragon and the Muslim ruler of Valencia. The Muslim ruler of Murcia, on the Mediterranean between Valencia and Granada, considered his options in the early 1240s. This ruler determined his best choice was to negotiate with Ferdinand. These negotiations resulted in the cession of Murcia to Castile in 1243. Ferdinand promised to allow free practice of Islam, and gained access to the Mediterranean. Ferdinand's next objective was to take the entire length of the Guadalquivir River. The ruler of the city of Jaen first resisted, then allied with Ferdinand. After Ferdinand demanded submission, the ruler of Jaen decided to resist, which resulted in a siege of six months. After submitting to Ferdinand, the Muslims of Jaen evacuated the city. After the conquest of Jaen, the only major cities in Muslim hands were Granada and Seville. The emir of Granada had already established a relationship with Ferdinand, acknowledging Ferdinand as overlord. Ferdinand decided that the natural defenses of Granada would not allow him to conquer

it, so he was satisfied with this agreement. That was not true with Seville. Moderates in Seville urged making the same agreement as Granada. They were overridden by a faction in the city that opposed any accommodation with the Christians. The moderate leader was assassinated, and the city aligned itself with the emir of Tunis, even though the emir was too far away to be of any real assistance. Seville was well-fortified, and prepared itself for a siege.

Ferdinand secured crusade status for this campaign from Pope Innocent IV. Countryside around Seville was devastated, and the Muslim leaders outside Seville negotiated an agreement with Ferdinand that they would remain neutral and await the outcome of the siege. The siege of Seville was instituted by land and sea in June 1247. The siege lasted sixteen months. The emir of Tunis sent a relieving fleet, but it was blocked by Castilian naval forces. The leaders of Seville asked for help from the Almohad ruler in Morocco, but civil war in Morocco precluded any help from there. After much starvation and suffering, Seville surrendered in November 1248. Most of the Muslim population left the city. Ferdinand entered and took over the city on December 1248. Ferdinand had been disputing some territory with Portugal, but that dispute was soon settled. Some minor Muslim rulers remained in Castilian territory, but they all acknowledged Ferdinand as overlord. Ferdinand allowed these rulers to remain in local power for a short time, before being replaced by Christian nobles. Ferdinand was readying an invasion of Morocco when he died in 1252. Several years after Ferdinand's death, his tomb was constructed by his son King Alfonso X. The tomb was inscribed in four languages (Latin, Arabic, Hebrew, and Castilian) and placed in the cathedral of Seville. Ferdinand was canonized by the Roman Catholic Church in 1671.

King Alfonso X completed the conquest on the peninsula. Alfonso took the towns of Cadiz and Cartagena, the only remaining towns under Muslim rule. Alfonso was known more for his mental than military prowess. He was known as Alfonso the Learned, a reflection of his intellectual pursuits. He was the Iberian equivalent of Emperor Frederick II in his wide ranging intellectual pursuits. He issued a law code, wrote poetry and music, sponsored translations of classical texts, and pursued scientific interests. He also copied Frederick II by pursuing election as Holy Roman Emperor. This pursuit started with a disputed election in 1257, and finally ended when his claim was thrown out in 1273. Alfonso spent a lot of time and money pursing this crown, to the detriment of his effective rule in Castile. Alfonso defended Castile against minor incursions from Morocco and Granada, and made an unsuccessful attempt to invade Morocco. Alfonso was

overthrown by his son Sancho in 1282, and allowed to live out the rest of his life in Seville. Sancho IV ruled until 1295. Castile had reached the borders that would stay stable until 1492, and the existence of the Emirate of Granada was at Castilian sufferance.

The remaining kingdom in Iberia was Aragon. Aragon in 1212 consisted of three parts. Catalonia was the northeastern section of the peninsula, based in Barcelona. Catalonia had its own language, Catalan. The Kingdom of Aragon claimed a part of what is now France, on the Mediterranean to the Rhone River. The province of Aragon was the directly west of Catalonia, a mostly mountainous land. In 1212, King Peter I of Aragon led a force from Aragon as part of the victorious Christian army at Las Navas de Tolosa. After that battle, Peter returned to his realm, and got caught up in the Albigensian crusade. Even though Peter considered himself a pious Christian, he opposed the forces suppressing the Albigensian heresy to protect his interests in what is now southern France. Peter was defeated at the battle of Muret, losing his life in that battle. This was the realistic end of Aragon's interest in southern France. Peter's son, King James I, had been born at Montpelier in southern France. James tried, over a long reign, to reestablish his power in southern France. He would not succeed, and looked to other lands to expand his realm.

James of Aragon was born in 1208. He was only five when his father died in battle. James had been captured by Simon of Montfort (the Elder), then released to the Templars. James was raised in a Templar castle as the legitimate King of Aragon and Catalonia. James took over effective government of his realms in 1227. His first military act was to organize the conquest of Majorca, the largest of the Baleric Islands. These islands were under the rule of a Muslim emir, who had become independent of the Almohads in 1224. James secured the support of Catalan nobles, who played a major role in financing this expedition. The nobles of Aragon declined to participate. James secured crusade status from Pope Gregory IX in February 1229. Catalan forces landed on Majorca in September 1229, completing the conquest of this island in May 1230. The ruler of Minorca recognized James as overlord in July 1231. James left this Muslim ruler in place in return for annual tribute, and Minorca was not conquered by the Aragonese until 1287. The rest of the Baleric islands were conquered by the end of 1235.

James' attention soon turned to the Emirate of Valencia, which was immediately south of Catalonia on the Mediterranean coast. The Valencian campaign began toward the end of 1231. Sieges of castles in the northern part of the emirate were followed by negotiations with the emir, Abu Zayd. Abu Zayd relinquished all revenues from Valencia

and its immediate surroundings. James accepted this deal, and left Abu Zayd in power. In May 1232, Aragonese forces fought in the territory of the emirate north of Valencia. In August 1233, Pope Gregory IX issued a call to crusade against Valencia. Most of the emirate north of Valencia was taken by the end of 1233. James was diverted by an attempt to secure the crown of Navarre, which failed. In early 1236, the drive on Valencia resumed. Nobles from Aragon and Catalonia joined this expedition, hoping for rewards of land and booty. Valencia came under siege in April 1238, as most of the surrounding territory had been taken by then. The siege lasted until September, ending in surrender of the city to James. Valencia remained a majority Muslim city for the next century. The rest of the emirate was taken by 1244. James made an agreement to allow Castile to secure the territory south of Valencia, the emirate of Murcia.

James, now called the Conqueror, lived until 1276. He renounced his claims to lands north of the Pyrenees in 1258. As was discussed in the 1282 chapter, James married his son and heir Peter to Constance of Hohenstaufen. James delayed the dispute over Sicily by keeping his son and daughter-in-law in check. After James' death in 1276, King Peter III proceeded as shown in the 1282 chapter. No further action against Muslim realms was taken by Aragon in the 13th century. In 1291, the crowns of Aragon and Sicily were divided between two sons of Peter.

In 1291, Muslim rule in the Iberian Peninsula was confined to Granada. The rest of the peninsula was divided into the Kingdoms of Aragon, Navarre, Castile and Portugal. These kingdoms all contained substantial minorities of Muslims and Jews. Treatment of these minorities was still good by the standards of the day. None of these religious minorities were forced to leave, but they were subject to special taxes and attempted (not forcible) conversion. The treatment of both Muslims and Jews would deteriorate in the next two centuries. Religious enthusiasm and intolerance would rise among Christians, culminating in the expulsion of the Jews in 1492, after the conquest of Granada. But that was well in the future in 1291.

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35

1294—The Death of Khubilai and the State of the Mongol Empire

Khubila Khan, grandson of Genghis Khan through Genghis' son Tului, was elected Great Khan of the Mongols in 1260. His reign lasted until 1294. In prior chapters, we have discussed both foreign and civil wars conducted by Khubilai. Here the internal policies of Khubilai will be the subject. While Khubilai was elected Great Khan, his real span of control was the original Mongolian homeland, China, Tibet, and Korea. So the policies discussed in this chapter were confined to these lands.

Khubilai was born in September 1215. He had substantial military experience, mostly on campaigns in North China. Khubilai's mother Sorkhokhani was in charge of raising Khubilai, as her husband was away on campaign for most of Khubilai's youth. She made sure Khubilai was literate. Khubilai learned to write in Uigher, the written language of the Mongol Empire, and Chinese. Khubiliai learned the ways of the steppe, participating in the normal rides and hunts of a young Mongol noble. Khubilai retained his affection for Mongol ways the rest of his life. His first experience of ruling was administering a part of Hopei province in north China starting in 1236. Khubilai implemented policy to encourage the agrarian economy practiced there, instead of altering to a pastoral economy. He gave reasonable guidelines to his advisers, and left the territory. As an absentee ruler, he was unsuccessful. The officials on the ground used their power to take as much as they could from the peasants. The peasants voted with their feet, resulting in a depopulation of this part of Hopei. When Khubilai learned what had happened, he replaced the officials, who were Mongol and Muslim, with native Chinese. These Chinese officials put the old tax rates in place, and encouraged the peasants to return. This happened, but this area was not repopulated until the late 1240s.

During the years 1236 to 1251, Khubilai was a minor Mongol prince administering a growing part of North China. The Great Khans during this time were Ogedai, then after a regency run by Ogedai's wife, his son Guyuk. Sons of Tului were not persecuted, but had no way of knowing if they would be considered as possible successors. Khubilai

used this time to gather a varied group of advisors. These advisors included Nestorian Christians (the religion of his mother), Muslims, Buddhists and Taoists. Most were Chinese. The battle for Khubilai's affection between Mongolian and Chinese interests started. Another leading advisor was one of his wives. By the age of twenty-five, Khubilai had four wives, the normal number for a Mongol noble. His second wife, Chabi, emerged as his favorite. Her ordu (the name for a house led by a wife) is the only one discussed by the chronicles before Khubilai became Great Khan. She was a Buddhist, attracted to the Tibetan version. She gave her first son a Tibetan name. Chabi remained an important advisor to Khubilai until her death in 1281.

Khubilai's brother Mongke was elected Great Khan in 1251. Khubilai was awarded with the governance of North China, and led military campaigns in Yunnan and North China. During Mongke's reign, Khubilai was his main subordinate in China. This is the period when the belief spread among many Mongols that Khubilai had turned Chinese. He had many Chinese advisors, and tried to implement policies in North China that were consistent with long-standing practices, implemented under Chinese emperors. Some Mongols wanted to turn the farmland of North China into pastureland. Khubilai fought this, arguing that the tax revenues from prosperous farms would be of more benefit to the empire. Two more examples of Khubilai's divided mind came to the fore in this period. Most of the policies implemented followed prior Chinese examples, but Khubilai abolished the centuries-old examination system used to qualify as an official under Chinese rule. Then Khubilai decided to build a summer capital in his domain. This town, eventually called Shang-tu, contained both Mongol and Chinese elements. The main town contained Chinese buildings, and was laid out using feng-shu principles. It was surrounded by a sizeable hunting preserve, in the Mongol manner.

This division in Khubilai's mind continued throughout his reign. Khubilai was the first Mongol ruler of China who expected to be treated as Emperor of China. His dynasty was given the name Yuan, which means outland. Some Mongols thought that Khubilai had turned Chinese, and rebelled against his rule. During Khubilai's reign in China, there were several rebellions in China against his rule, such as the one discussed in the 1279 chapter. Khubilai divided the population he ruled in China into three, then four groups. Mongols had the leading role, as conquerors. One step down the scale was "miscellaneous aliens," mostly from western and central Asia. Many became officials, as there were not enough Mongols to man the higher government posts, and Khubilai did not trust ethnic Chinese in those

posts. The next step down was the North Chinese, including the Jurchen who had ruled North China before Mongol conquest. The final class was South Chinese. None of the Chinese were allowed to be leading officials at the beginning of Khubilai's reign. This policy was implemented simply because of the small population of Mongols as opposed to the vast number of Chinese. By the time of the total conquest of China, there were several hundred thousand Mongols in China, but most were in the army. The total number of Chinese was about sixty million. Khubilai always had close advisors who were Chinese, but these advisors usually did not hold official posts. Chinese manned the lower ranks of the bureaucracy, but always subject to supervision by Mongols or Muslims.

Khubilai's main goal in this personnel policy was control. Previous Chinese dynasties had learned that officials in distant provinces could not be controlled, and had to be given some independence. Khubilai learned the same lesson, but only after starting out with the intention of central control. Recent studies have shown that Khubilai's edicts were effective only in the province that included Beijing. The further away the province was from Beijing, the lesser the effectiveness of Khubilai's edicts. The leading officials in the provinces were not Chinese, but the lower officials were. In Tibet, a Tibetan was the head of administration. In northwest China, the posts were held by Muslims. Twenty-one Turks were leading administrators in China.

The vast majority of the population Khubilai ruled in China were peasant farmers. Khubilai tried to devise a fixed, regular system of taxation. He wanted to abolish tax farming. Tax farming was administered by local nobles, and was notoriously corrupt. Peasants and artisans were also subject to corvee labor. When a large public works project was being built in their area, peasants and artisans could be called to supply labor. This was particularly important in the project of the Grand Canal, which was improved greatly under Khubilai's rule. Sometimes Khubilai waived taxes on the persons subject to such labor. Khubilai issued edicts requiring his officials to limit their use of the labor to only official uses, trying to limit the use of this labor for personal gain of the officials. This is another example of Khubilai going against the old Mongol policy of turning agrarian land into pastureland.

Merchants in China prospered during Khubilai's reign. Merchants under Confucian rule were considered parasites, and subject to steep taxation and regulation. Khubilai, following Genghis' policy, encouraged trade. Trade within China prospered, aided by public works such as the improvements in the Grand Canal. After the Mongol

conquest of South China, there were two trade routes to the west. The land route, called the Silk Road, will be covered in the next chapter. Sea trade between China and India was discussed in the 1237 chapter. This trade now increased, being encouraged by the central government in China. This trade was facilitated by currency policy. In his first year of rule, Khubilai recalled all circulating currencies, and substituted new paper money. Paper money had been used for centuries in China, but this was the largest issue yet. Paper money worked fine as long as there was a solid central administration. Khubilai's finance ministers greatly increased the amount of money in circulation around 1276, due to the expense of military actions all around Khubilai's realms. Even with this, inflation did not occur until after Khubilai's death. Khubilai spent a great amount on improving transport as well. The Grand Canal between the Yellow and Yangtze Rivers was improved, aiding inland water transport. Roads were improved, and postal stations built at around 25-mile intervals throughout Khubilai's realm. These stations served merchants as well as postal carriers and government messengers.

Khubilai built a summer palace for himself north of Beijing. Starting in 1267, he had a new capital built just northwest of the old city of Beijing. Called Ta-tu, this new city was to be the capital of the Yuan dynasty. The first architect was a Muslim. He used Chinese and Mongol principles to build a large imperial city, which is now encompassed in the vastly bigger modern Beijing. The city was laid out on a rectangular basis, with wide avenues leading to the eleven gates in the outer wall. A central palace was built for Khubilai and his very large official establishment. Chinese temples were built. There were imperial parks, filled with Mongol style tents. When one of Khubilai's wives or concubines was in the last stages of pregnancy with a child of his, the lady moved to a tent to give birth there. But most of the city was built in the Chinese manner. There was even a shrine to Confucius, showing Khubilai's desire to attract the support of the scholar elite. The vast majority of the workers on this project were Chinese, and the results reflected their influence. The new capital was built in seven years. Khubilai held his first audience in the main hall of the Imperial City in 1274.

Khubilai initially continued the religious policy of his predecessors. There were no religious persecutions for the first fifteen years of Khubilai's rule. There were many Muslims at Khubilai's court, and their religious devotions were not interfered with. Khubilai desired good relations with Muslims, as they served him well at court and were leading merchants. His wife Chabi was a Buddhist, and influenced his view of Buddhism. The Tibetan Buddhist leader Phags-

pa lama accepted Mongol rule, and was named governor of Tibet in return. Khubilai's policy towards Christians will be covered in the next chapter. He tried to woo the Chinese Confucian elite, and honored the myriad gods of the Chinese populace. After being attacked by his Muslim relative Qaidu as detailed in the 1279 chapter, Khubilai issued some anti–Muslim edicts. He banned Muslim methods of slaughtering meat. Later the ban on Muslim methods of slaughter was changed to a death penalty offence. This policy was implemented due to Muslim opponents on the western borders of Khubilai's realms, and reaction by other groups to the success of some Muslim officials. The anti–Muslim reaction lasted until 1287, when the anti–Muslim laws were repealed. These laws had minimal effect. Even with this anti–Muslim interlude, Khubilai was remarkably tolerant of all religions.

All the actions listed above have to do with governing China and other foreign territories. Khubilai was the ruler of the Mongolian heartland. He had to constantly be on guard not to appear too Chinese to his Mongol subjects. Khubilai tried to avoid being engulfed by Chinese civilization. He forbade intermarriage between Chinese and Mongols. Khubilai was not a hypocrite in this, confining his choices of wives and concubines to Mongols and other steppe peoples. Khubilai maintained Mongol traditional ways at his summer capital. He honored his ancestors there, and performed the annual ceremony of the scattering of mare's milk. He participated in annual hunts when resident at Shang-tu. He maintained a large hunting establishment, including elephants, horses, dogs, falcons, and other aids to hunting. Khubilai made every attempt to appear as Mongol Khan to Mongols and as Chinese emperor to Chinese. This worked in most cases, but there was resentment both ways as well. We have seen how some of his Mongol neighbors fought Khubilai, which continued after his death. There were Chinese rebellions as well.

The most pressing problem in Khubilai's administration was finance. Most of the campaigns of the Mongols in the past century had been financed by the defeated power, through pillage. This would not work for Khubilai. His campaigns against Arik Boge and Qaidu did not result in monetary gain. Putting down Chinese rebellions would help some, but not enough. Expeditions to Japan, Burma, and Indonesia were very expensive and resulted in small amounts of tribute or outright defeat. The conquest of the Southern Sung could have resulted in vast amounts of booty, but Khubilai mostly forbade looting, as he knew he would have to govern this thickly populated country with a small number of troops. In his quest to secure needed funds, Khubilai followed the footsteps of his predecessors Ogedai and Mongke. He employed a Muslim finance minister. The minister,

known as Ahmad, is vilified in Chinese accounts of the Yuan dynasty. Ahmad was finance minister from 1262 to 1282. He was effective, which made him hated by the Chinese population and elite. Chinese sources repeatedly accuse him of having a hand in the till, and keeping Chinese officials out of his administration. Charges of embezzlement were exchanged by leading Muslim and Chinese ministers. Ahmad won these battles until his downfall in 1282. Persian accounts differ from Chinese. Rashid al-Din wrote "Ahmad held the vizierate with honor for nearly 25 years" (Rossabi,. 182). Chinese opponents took decisive action on April 10, 1282, while Khubilai was at Shang-tu. Ahmad was assassinated just outside his house in Beijing. Khubilai returned to the capital, and had all the conspirators executed. Later that year, other Chinese counselors convinced Khubilai of Ahmad's perfidy. Several of Ahmad's sons were executed, and his property was confiscated. The need for income remained. Soon afterward, Khubilai again resorted to non–Chinese help in financial matters. This was around the time Khubilai started to lose interest in day-to-day government, and the new finance minister was able to continue Ahmad's policies.

Once the conquest of the Southern Sung was completed in 1279, the Mongols faced the task of integrating the largest population yet conquered into their domains. This was the last great internal task Khubilai dealt with before starting to relinquish his authority. Khubilai released many of the prisoners captured in these military campaigns. He prohibited his armies from hunting on southern Chinese land. Graineries were established to store surplus grain. Khubilai did not tamper with the existing government of south China. He confirmed landowners in their possessions, and authority at the local level. The Mongols would not tamper with the authorities and officials in China south of the Yangtze River, they added another level to the top of the hierarchy. Some land was confiscated, but only from active opponents after the conquest. The Sung had a system of paper money, which needed to be integrated with the Yuan money. Advisors to Khubilai urged him to declare the Sung currency invalid. This would damage the southern Chinese economy, and Khubilai took a different course. The southern currency would convert over the course of several years. This conversion was completed successfully within 10 years. Khubilai permitted the merchants of many overseas nations to come to South China ports for trade. The Mongol hope was that these policies would lead to increased income through economic recovery. This hope was not realized by the year of Khubilai's death.

Rebellions were more common during the last 15 years of Khubilai's rule. A large force of Southern Sung troops refused to surrender in

1279, holding out for two years. All the troops captured in this campaign were killed, over 20,000 per Chinese sources. Another rebellion in Kwantung province in 1284 was easily suppressed, resulting in about 10,000 Chinese deaths. The next year a rebel in Fukien province led a revolt, which required one hundred thousand Mongol troops to suppress it. Troublesome insurrections kept cropping up in the south. Khubilai issued an edict prohibiting ordinary people from owning bows and arrows in one province. This edict was evaded. Garrison troops were stationed in major cities in the south. Revolts in the other parts of Khubilai's domain called for stronger responses. The revolt in Manchuria, in conjunction with Qaidu, was covered in the 1279 chapter. The 1287 revolt was important enough that Khubilai accompanied the army to southern Manchuria, and supervised the execution of the rebel leader. After the Tibetan leader Phags-pa lama died in 1280, Tibet remained at peace. But resistance to Mongol rule was being preached in the Buddhist monasteries. One of the Buddhist orders initiated conflict with other orders, besieging their monasteries. The Mongols came to the aid of the Buddhist orders supporting their rule. The opponents of the Mongols sought foreign aid, and received it from the ruler of eastern Turkestan. This resulted in an extended war fought in Tibet. Khubilai sent his grandson Temur Bukha at the head of an army to deal with this threat. The war ended in 1290, when the Mongols destroyed the monastery where the trouble started, killing 10,000 people in the process.

Around 1281 Khubilai withdrew to his court, only venturing out in the case of a very important event, such as the rebellion in Manchuria. His wife Chabi died in 1281. She had been a pillar for Khubilai, and was clearly his favorite. She knew she was dying, and chose her own successor as wife in the second ordu. Nambi, Chabi's successor, was a distant relative of Chabi. Nambi reportedly made important political decisions, and controlled access to an increasingly remote Khubilai. Khubilai turned to food and drink as comfort. He had not changed his dietary habits from his Mongol youth. Meals were mostly meat accompanied by alcoholic drinks. He became very fat, and suffered from ailments like gout caused by a rich diet. Portraits of Khubilai in late life reflect this, as opposed to the earlier portraits showing a vital young ruler. People at court knew he was failing. The court sent for his old colleague Bayan. Bayan arrived around the beginning of 1294, but was unable to cheer Khubilai up. Soon after this visit, Khubilai died on February 18, 1294. He was seventy-eight, and had reigned for thirty-three years.

Even though Khubilai had four wives and many concubines, the only sons considered for succession were sons of Chabi. She had four sons.

The first, Chen-Chen, had been designated as successor, but he died in 1285. Another son died before Khubilai. Chabi's two other sons, while successful generals, were not considered for the throne. The sons from his other wives were not considered for the succession, although several of them served in the military. After the death of Chen-Chen, his son Temur Bukha was named successor. This transition took place peacefully. Temur Khan was named Great Khan like his grandfather, but exercised effective control in the same areas as Khubilai. Temur fought off attacks from other Mongol claimants to the throne in northwest China, and put down rebellions in Korea and South China. On his death in 1307, he was given the title of Accomplished Ancestor. Temur was the last effective Mongol ruler of China. But the Mongols had a vast influence on Asia and Europe, which would soon grow due to a book written by a servant of Khubilai.

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1298—Marco Polo and European Awareness of the East

Venice and Genoa were the two leading commercial cities of Italy. Both were self-governing oligarchies, led by wealthy merchants. Genoa was nominally in the Holy Roman Empire, unlike Venice which had achieved independence from the empire in the early 13th century. These two cities were fierce competitors for commercial privileges. This competition was not confined to business dealings. As covered in the 1204 chapter, Venice was the main beneficiary of the Fourth Crusade, gaining access to the market of Constantinople and keeping the Genoese out. This contest continued well into the 16th century, often boiling over into open warfare. As Genoa is on the coast surrounded by mountains, and Venice is on an archipelago of islands offshore, neither was much of a land power (Venice would become one later). Both emphasized their navies to protect commerce, and defeat their rival. This resulted in many naval battles. One of those battles was fought on September 8, 1298, off Curzola on the east coast of the Adriatic, four hundred miles from Venice. The Genoese fleet won this battle, capturing much of the Venetian fleet. One of their prisoners was a gentleman of Venice who had financed the ship he was on. This man hired a professional sailor to sail the galley, but was present and fought in the battle. This gentleman, Marco Polo, was sent along with the other captives to be imprisoned in Genoa.

As a prisoner, Marco was treated well. High ranking prisoners who could pay for privileges were given the freedom of the town, within limits, as long as they returned to their cell each night. Marco spent his time spinning tales of his travels, as he had done in Venice the last three years. At some point during his imprisonment, Marco met a fellow prisoner with a professional interest in his tales. Rustichello of Pisa had been in captivity since 1284. Rustichello had been a writer of romances before his imprisonment. He was impressed with Marco's stories, and asked if he could record Marco's reminiscences. Over the next couple of months, these stories were turned into the book that opened the eyes of many Europeans to the actual size of the world, and the importance of the East.

Marco Polo was the son of Niccolo Polo, a merchant of Venice. As stated in the 1264 chapter, Niccolo and his brother-partner Maffeo made their way to the court of Khubilai Khan. The Polo brothers left Venice in 1253. Niccolo was not aware that his wife was pregnant when they left, and was not aware of the existence of his son Marco until he returned to Venice in 1269. After the brothers Polo traded in Constantinople for six years, they decided to travel east instead of west. After a three-year trip, they arrived at the court of Khubilai Khan. Khubilai welcomed them, and made many inquiries about the West. There were already some merchants from the West in Mongolian held territories. Khubilai was aware of the Pope, and wanted to communicate with the Pope. The Polo brothers remained in Cambulac for a couple of years, and were granted permission to leave by Khubilai. They carried a message to the Pope, asking for a hundred missionaries to preach to Khubilai's subjects, and oil from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The brothers left in 1266, under Khubilai's protection, making their way to Acre in the Holy Land in 1269. In Acre, they met the papal legate of Acre, Teobaldo of Piacenza. At the same time, they learned of the death of Pope Clement IV in late 1268. The brothers waited a couple of months to see if a new pope would be elected. As discussed in the 1282 chapter, this papal vacancy lasted for three years. The Polos returned to Venice. During their travels, they had successfully dealt in whatever portable products they could handle, mostly jewels and textiles. They had made a good profit, and were ready to stay at home for a while.

On their return, the brothers tried to resume their old life. Maffeo's wife was alive, and he went back to his old life. Niccolo learned of the death of his wife, and the existence of his son Marco. Niccolo soon married, and got to know his son. Marco had been raised by another Polo brother. He now heard the stories of his father and uncle about the East. When the brothers decided to fulfill their commission for Khubilai Khan in 1271, Marco accompanied them. The Polo party had possession of a paiza, or golden passport, for protection in lands held by the Mongols. The Polos went to Acre to prepare for the long land trip. They met up with Teobaldo again, waited a couple of months for news about a new pope, and went to Jerusalem to secure the oil from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. After returning to Acre, the Polos sailed to the port of Layas in Cilician Armenia. Before their caravan left Layas, the Polos received a message from Teobaldo. Teobaldo had been elected Pope, taking the name of Gregory X. Gregory asked the Polos to return to Acre, which they did. Gregory blessed their trip, and sent two friars with powers to negotiate with Khubilai. Gregory gave the Polos gifts to pass along to the Khan as well. Soon after the Polo

party left Cilician Armenia, they were captured by a local ruler not subject to the Mongols. The friars abandoned the trip, and returned to Acre. The Polos were made of stronger stuff, and after bribing their jailers, headed east.

Marco's account of his travels starts here. In the finished book, the first chapter is the story of his father and uncle's first trip. The first part of this trip was through Cilician Armenia, Iraq and Persia. He gives descriptions of the provinces he passes through. Many subsequent commentators on Marco note that he passes on stories he heard without verifying them. This was because Marco was a merchant, not an historian. He was meeting people, passing time with them, and trying to learn about their culture, not keeping precise records for the purpose of writing a book about his travels. The book was dictated to another writer, who was a writer of romances, well after the events. An example of this is Marco's account of the Assassins in Chapter 22. The Assassins had been wiped out in Persia by Hulegu in 1258, as covered before. Marco stresses the use of hashish by the Assassins, which is still disputed today. He said that the Assassins were still active in Persia, which was not true. He stated that the Assassins were the norm in Islam, unaware of the stigma placed on the Assassins by mainstream Islamic leaders.

The Polos traveled to the port of Hormuz on the Persian Gulf, intending to take ship east. After viewing their possible transport, they decided to travel by land. They passed through Balkh, seeing firsthand the destruction caused by the Mongol conquest, and how the town had recovered to regain its status as a stop on the Silk Route. From Balkh east, the Polo party was on the Silk Route, traveling in caravans carried by Bactrian camels through the deserts and mountains they crossed. Soon after leaving Balkh, the party reached an area Marco calls Balashan, probably northern Afghanistan. Marco was ill for a year, so the party stayed there and traded. Marco probably was treated with opium, the most common drug in that area. He does not state what his illness was, but he recovered.

The next part of the trip took the Polo caravan through the Pamirs. The Pamirs are a high mountain range between Afghanistan and northwest China, north of Kashmir. These mountains are higher than anything so far seen by Marco, although both his father and uncle had passed this way on their prior trip. This was the first part of the trip where Marco encountered Buddhists. Throughout his account, Marco calls Buddhists "idolators." The next section of the trek covered the large deserts in northwest China. The Polos were part of a caravan run by experienced leaders, so they went from oasis to oasis successfully.

One particular feature of this landscape was considered an example of Marco's exaggerations in Europe. This was the Singing Sands, which Marco encountered on this part of their trek. This landscape was described by a 13th century Chinese scholar Ma Duanlin like this:

> You see nothing in any direction by the sky and the sands, without the slightest trace of road, and travelers find nothing to guide them but the bones of men and beasts and the droppings of camels. During the passage of this wilderness you hear sounds, sometimes of singing, sometimes of wailing, and it has often happened that travelers going aside to see what these sounds may be, have strayed from their course and been entirely lost, for they were the voices of spirits and goblins [Bergreen, p. 82–3].

This is similar to the description Marco included in Chapter 36 of his book.

After traversing the desert, the Polos emerged into the north part of what had been Hsi-Hsia, currently occupied by Tibetans under Mongol rule. Marco saw large Buddhist monasteries, much bigger than any in Europe. He witnessed cremations, a practice he had never seen before. The sexual practices of the Tangut people fascinated Marco. When a guest was staying with a Tangut, "They give positive orders to their wives, daughters, sisters, and other female relations, to indulge their guests in every wish, whilst they themselves leave their homes, and retire into the city, and the stranger lives in the house with the females as if they were his own wives, and they send whatever necessaries may be wanted, but for which, it is to be understood, they expect payment" (Polo, Book 1, Chapter 38). As Marco was a young unmarried man when he passed through this territory, he undoubtedly indulged in this hospitality. Soon after leaving this area, Marco encountered a natural wonder not known in the West, asbestos. Marco uses the common name for this substance, salamander, after the belief that salamanders were impervious to fire. This was the last wonder reported before entering the Mongol capital.

Marco spends eight chapters detailing the history and conquests of the Mongols. While discussing their religion and person habits, he states:

> Each man can take as many wives as he likes, up to a hundred if he has the power to maintain them; and the men give dowries to the wives and to the mother of their wife to obtain them, nor does the wife give anything to the man for dowry. But you may know too that they always hold the first of their wives for more genuine and for better than the others, and likewise the children who are

> born of her. And they have more sons than all the other people in the world because they have so many wives, and it is a marvel how many children each man has [Bergreen, p. 102–3].

According to contemporary genetic researchers, Marco and other accounts of Mongol reproductive habits were not exaggerations. A group of Oxford University researchers took a sample of men across Asia, and determined that 8 percent of those studied had virtually identical Y chromosomes, even though this 8 percent is spread all over Asia. The geneticists felt that this 8 percent were direct descendants of Genghis Khan. Marco reported on another marriage custom of the Mongols. This was the marriage of dead children. The ceremony combined the two families, who had a ceremony performed, and treated each other as relatives thereafter.

All of this was leading up to the most important event of Marco Polo's life, his meeting with Khubilai Khan. Marco was sidetracked first, describing the land he passed through as the realm of Prester John, the mythical Christian leader the many educated Europeans believed in. Marco confuses reality and fantasy in this section, a problem that occurs throughout his account. But then he met Khubilai and his court. Many later readers of Marco's book thought he was exaggerating about the Mongol ruler. However, most of Marco's tales of Khubilai and the court have counterparts in Chinese and Persian accounts. Examples of this include Khubilai's albino herds of horses, the description of Khubilai's court dress, and the Mongol postal system. The Polo party arrived in Ta-tu in 1274. Niccolo and Maffeo were welcomed as prior acquaintances of the Khan, and reported on the failure of their mission to the Pope. Khubilai allowed them to continue their lives as merchants in his realm, as they had before. Marco was a different matter. Khubilai seems to have taken to Marco, a young man who had traveled from the West to the East and had a gift for languages. Marco probably spoke Persian, some form of Turkish, and Mongolian. He never learned to speak Chinese, but that was no problem if he served the Mongol ruler of China. That was what happened.

Over the next 16 or 17 years, Marco became one of many foreigners who served Khubilai. Precisely what he did is still in dispute. He was sent by Khubilai to a city called Caragian, which was six months journey from Ta-tu. Marco had seen how some other representatives of the Khan had been humiliated by the Khan when they could not give a good report of their journey. Marco made sure he could satisfy Khubilai's curiosity, the first example of his ability as a storyteller. Khubilai was impressed enough to send Marco on other journeys. In

Book Two of his Travels, Marco spends fifty chapters describing the lands he traveled through while serving the Khan. It is thought that Marco traveled southwest from Ta-tu on a mission for the Khan. He went all the way to Burma, as we saw in the 1277 chapter. What exactly Marco was doing on this trip is not clear. It is possible he served as a tax official. His description of salt, an important resource subject to tax, shows a knowledge that could have been gained as a collector of salt tax. He is very familiar with the uses and economics of salt. As these chapters in the Travels indicate, Marco was a keen observer of lands unfamiliar to Europeans. Some of his descriptions are of myths, such as unicorns. But most are of habits and practices that seemed too strange to be true, but were. The unicorn could have possibly been an Asian rhinoceros, which existed in the jungles of southwest China and Burma during these times. He described the custom of tattoos in southern Burma, describing the procedure in great detail. This trip ended in his return to Ta-tu sometime around 1280.

Marco spent a good amount of time in Hangchow, which is called Quinsai (the City of Heaven) in his book. A look at the table of contents of Marco's book is a shortcut to discover how impressed he was with Hangchow. After Marco spends 27 chapters discussing Khubilai and the Mongols in Book 2 of the Travels, the next 50 chapters of Book 2 are descriptions of various towns, provinces and ports in Mongol-held China. Most of these chapters are very short, one or two pages. The chapter on Hangchow is about 15 times longer, with a more complete description than any other place he traveled to. The reason for this is stated in the Travels: "This city was frequently visited by Marco Polo, who carefully and diligently observed and inquired into every circumstance respecting it, all of which he entered in his notes, from whence the following particulars are briefly stated" (Polo, Book 2, Chapter 68). Marco's occupation in Hangchow is not clear. Some think he was the governor of the city. Others think he was a tax official. In either case, he was there long enough to become familiar with the city, probably the largest in the world at the time. During all these trips for the Khan, Marco was an active merchant. He made the trip to southwest China and Burma with Mongol escort, and without his father and uncle. When he went to Hangchow, he was accompanied by his father and uncle, who traded their entire time in the Mongol realm.

In Book 3 of the Travels, Marco discusses several lands he visited on his trip home, and others he never visited. His trip home will be discussed below. One of the lands he described was Japan, called Cipangu. This description was one of several that led to disbelief in

Marco's stories. Even though Marco had not visited Japan, his account of the Khan's attempt to conquer Cipangu was mostly accurate. Most of the lands Marco visited or described were known in Europe. Japan was not, and this was the first account of Japan to reach a European audience. Marco discussed other lands he never visited. Two examples of this are Zanzibar and Russia, neither of which was on his route home. Most of the other places discussed in Book 3 he visited after 1292.

The Polos wanted to go home. They needed Khubilai's permission, which would not come until the occurrence of a political event thousands of miles away. One of the many local disputes in the Mongol empire resulted in King Argon of Khorasan losing his wife during a war with a neighboring local ruler. Argon sent an embassy of three nobles to Khubilai, his nominal overlord, asking for a replacement princess. Khubilai selected one of his many younger relatives, a seventeen-year-old named Kokachin, as the new wife for Argon. The three ambassadors escorting Kokachin started west by land in 1291, but returned to Khubilai's court eight months later. The land route west was not safe, due to the political instability of the Mongol realm in Central Asia. This was where the Polos came in. Khubilai followed the suggestion of the Polos, and decided to send the princess west by sea. The Polos saw their chance, and persuaded Khubilai to allow them to accompany the princess. This expedition left a port in southeastern China in 1292. This expedition is verified by court records of Khubilai.

A fleet of fourteen ships carried this party west. Marco comments in the Travels show how happy he was to be back at sea. The party consisted of about six hundred, not counting the sailors. The voyage took eighteen months, including a five-month stopover in Sumatra waiting for the next monsoon season. When the ambassadorial party arrived at the capital of Khorasan, only eighteen of the original party had survived. The survivors included one of the ambassadors, Kokachin, and the three Polos. King Argon had died in the meantime. It was decided to marry Kokachin to the new king, Argon's son. Kokachin wanted the Polos to remain, as they were her only friends in a new land. The Polos stayed nine months. They were finally able to leave in 1294. They still had possession of the paiza (golden passport) issued by Khubilai. This helped them make the trip from Khorasan west. It appears they spent the winter in Tabriz. The Polos returned to a Christian kingdom in early 1295, reaching Trebinzond on the Black Sea. This city was ruled by Constantinople, and not friendly to Venetians. The Polos were robbed of some of their merchandise. Marco left this episode out of the Travels. No one learned of it until

the death of Maffeo, who mentioned it in his will. Soon after this robbery, which was not total, the Polos sailed west, eventually reaching Venice in 1295.

It is hard to imagine the greeting the Polos got from their families. Niccolo had married just before he left for the East. His wife had been pregnant at the time, and Niccolo had a new son named Maffeo, who he had never seen. Marco had a new half-brother. Maffeo Polo the elder got back together with his wife at his old home. A possibly apocryphal story shows the complications that could arise. Maffeo's wife did not like the clothes he was wearing, which were in the Mongol style, and ragged. One day when Maffeo had changed to Venetian clothes, and was out of the house, she gave Maffeo's Mongol clothes to a street beggar. When Maffeo learned of this, he spent the next three days on the Rialto, the center of Venetian commerce, feigning madness by operating a spinning wheel without wool. On the third day, a street beggar wearing Maffeo's old clothes appeared to see this spectacle. Maffeo leaped on the beggar, and secured his old clothes. After Maffeo got home with these clothes, he felt for the gems sewn into the clothes. All were there.

This story is an indication that the Polos made out well financially on their trip. Marco was rich enough to build a galley for the Venetian fleet. The wills of both Niccolo and Maffeo showed that they were well off. No accounting of profit and loss exists for the Polo family enterprise, but it is clear they prospered. Enough so that Marco ended up in a Genoan prison, dictating *The Travels of Marco Polo*.

No original manuscript exists of the collaboration between Marco and Rustichello. The Travels was written well before the invention of printing, so it circulated in handwritten manuscripts in different languages. Changes occurred in this copying process. Parts of the manuscript may have been lost. Sometimes Marco promises to narrate an episode, and that episode is not in the book. Eventually there were more than a hundred versions of this book. By the time of the first printed version, many versions were combined and edited to produce one new edition. But even in Marco's lifetime, the book was an immediate hit, at least in Italy. A 16th century Italian geographer states "In a few months it spread throughout Italy" (Bergreen, p. 346). Most of the readers thought this book was a fantastic romance. It took a long time before readers realized that, while there were tall tales and exaggerations in this book, it was based on a real story filled with real people. The book soon became known in Italy as "Il Milione," a reflection on what was felt were the exaggerations in the book.

Genoa and Venice signed a peace treaty on May 25, 1299. On August 28, both Marco Polo and Rustichello were released from prison. Rustichello promptly disappeared from history. Marco returned to Venice. He was now forty-five years old, and as far as we know never traveled further than the Dalmatian provinces held by Venice the rest of his life. The Polo family bought a palazzo in a fashionable Venetian neighborhood while Marco was in prison, which is still known as the Ca Polo. Within a year after his return, Marco married a woman from another upper-class family in Venice. Marco and his wife lived in the Ca Polo the rest of their lives. Niccolo Polo died in 1300, after Marco's marriage. Marco and his uncle Maffeo continued active in trade until Maffeo's death in 1310. While Marco mentioned his father and uncle in the Travels, neither plays a leading part. It must be remembered that as remarkable as Marco's trip was, his father and uncle made the same trip twice. Marco and his wife had three daughters and Marco's only appearance in city records are their marriages, and various lawsuits. Near the end of his life, Marco's reputation as a storyteller led to mild abuse on the street. Children would follow him, asking him "Messer Marco, tell us another lie" (Bergreen, p. 336). In late 1333, Marco was clearly failing and bedridden. Sometime in December, as a story told by a Dominican friar goes, Marco was attended by some of his friends. They urged him to retract things he had written that were above and beyond the truth. Marco's response was "Friends, I have not written down the half of those things that I saw" (Bergreen, p. 339). On January 8 or 9, 1334, Marco died in Venice.

Marco's will, which is in a library in Venice, shows he left a considerable estate. Some of the items, like his paiza and a Buddhist rosary, were from his travels. Others showed his shrewdness as a merchant, like his considerable real estate holdings. He was buried close to his father, without a monument of his own. Marco's monument was his book. This book raised European awareness of the East, and widened the horizons of those who read it as an account of travels, not as a fantasy. The most famous use of this book was by Christopher Columbus. He took a heavily annotated copy of the Travels to the New World with him on all four of his voyages. Columbus' instructions were to contact the Grand Khan, not realizing the Mongol empire did not exist in the late 15th century. Another reader of the Travels was a young Venetian in the early 16th century, Antonia Pigafetta. He left Spain in 1519 on a ship with Magellan, and became the chronicler of the first trip around the world as one of only eighteen survivors of this voyage.

Marco, and especially his father and uncle, saw the Mongol empire at

its peak. The opening of the Silk Road, and increased trade between the ends of the Eurasian continent, was the fulfillment of Genghis Khan's hopes. The peak of this traffic was between about 1240 and 1280. Before that, the Mongols were still expanding, and while they would protect caravans in their territory, much remained to be conquered. After 1280, various Mongol rulers held the entire length of the Silk Road. But these rulers were not subject to central rule, and spent much of their energy fighting each other. This hurt commerce. By the time the Yuan dynasty fell in 1368, the Silk Road was functioning, but barely. Unfortunately, one major article made its way from China to Europe, via Mongols carriers. This was a virus, called bubonic plague. The first outbreak in China was in 1331. Fifteen years later, the plague reached the Crimea as a result of a siege of a Genoese outpost. A ship from the Crimea carried the virus to Sicily in 1347, and the plague spread from there. This was the last major impact on Europe of the Mongol Empire.

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37

1300—Great Zimbabwe and the Indian Ocean Coast of Africa

One of the destinations for Chinese products exported under the Yuan dynasty was the east coast of Africa. This coast was part of the Indian Ocean trade, which was the first of the world's oceans to become interconnected through long distance trade. We have discussed other parts of this trade system in the 1237, 1248 and 1260 chapters. The 1260 chapter discussed the trade from Ethiopia across the Red Sea to Arabia. There were ports further south on the Indian Ocean coast that were part of this trade system. These ports received goods from as far away as China, and exchanged these products for local African goods. The largest polity that these goods came from in 1300 was based in present day Zimbabwe, and is called Great Zimbabwe.

The area where Great Zimbabwe arose is the Zimbabwe Plateau. This area is between the Zambesi and Limpopo Rivers, and inland from the Indian Ocean, above 3000 feet. The environment here was favorable for human settlement. The climate is temperate, and the altitude assured freedom from the tsetse fly. Freedom from the tsetse fly allowed humans to raise cattle, and helped the health of the human inhabitants. The varied landscape included enough savanna and grassland to feed the cattle, and there were soils that could be cultivated for crops. Many natural resources were present on the plateau. These advantages were offset by some disadvantages. Rainfall was unpredictable, resulting in difficulties from too much or too little rain on an average of once every five years. The good soils of the plateau were exhausted quickly, meaning fields had to lie fallow for a few years before they could be farmed again.

The earliest archaeological sites show small communities near the Limpopo around 600. This was prime cattle country. These villages had little contact with the outside world. The first larger community in this area was Mapungubwe. At its greatest size in around 1200, Mapungubwe had a population of around 4000 and trade relations with the Indian Ocean coast. There was elite housing and high-status burials with gold items. It seems that Mapungubwe was the center of a small state in 1200. By 1300 Mapungubwe was abandoned, possibly

because of an extended drought. There was a new population and political center further north.

Great Zimbabwe seems to have been a small farming settlement as early as 300. Starting about 1000, the population started to grow, and began using the natural resources locally available to build up their town. Houses were made of mud and thatch, even the houses of the elite. But starting around 1000, stone walls were built around elite houses. The stone used in these walls was granite, which was locally plentiful and accessible. These stone structures, which still exist in Great Zimbabwe, seem to have been built to impress the beholder with the power and wealth of the ruler who could produce such monumental work. These stone structures are not confined to Great Zimbabwe. Over 100 “Zimbabwe” villages have been excavated on the Plateau. At these smaller sites, there were comparable stone structures, and the pottery and other aspects of the material culture were similar. There were other smaller settlements that lacked the stone structures. It appears that Great Zimbabwe was the center of a state. There are no written records showing this, but when the Portuguese arrived in this area around 1500, they encountered a state in this area, possibly the successor state to Great Zimbabwe. Archaeological dating at Great Zimbabwe shows this town existed from around 1250 to 1450, and possibly had a maximum population of 18,000. Hence, in 1300 Great Zimbabwe was the center of the leading state in southern Africa.

What was the economic basis of this state? Cattle were very important. Cattle bones were found at all the sites where it was possible to keep cattle. Smaller domestic mammals, such as sheep and goats, were kept as well. There were lots of wild animals around, which were hunted when necessary. Sorghum and millet were the main grain crops. Vegetables such as peas and a variety of beans have been found at archaeological sites. Material evidence indicates that food was sufficient to allow some members of the society pursue other occupations supported by the farmers. The area ruled by Great Zimbabwe shows many indications of social and economic stratification. The stone structures were symbols, not having any practical use. Items recovered inside these compounds seem to confirm the higher status of their occupants. Objects of gold, copper and bronze were created locally. In the larger compounds in Great Zimbabwe itself, there were glass vessels, Islamic and Chinese ceramics. These were obtained via long-distance trade through the Indian Ocean coast.

What was sent to the coast in exchange for these goods? Metals were

mined in this area. The most desired metal mined in this area was gold. Other metals mined were copper, iron and tin. Great Zimbabwe contained evidence of metalworking in all these metals. Soapstone was locally available, and carved into many objects. It has been commented that the manner of soapstone carving is similar to woodcarving. Wood artifacts do not survive in a climate like Great Zimbabwe, but this indicates that woodcarving was probably practiced as well. Cotton cloth and pottery have been found as well. The mines discovered from this time period are very small. One-man operations were the norm. The depth of the mine would not exceed 70 feet. Placer mining in the small streams downhill from the gold reef was also practiced.

As there are no written records from Great Zimbabwe, there is no way of knowing how exploitation of these resources was accomplished. What we do know is that the resources were exploited. The wealth of the elite was shown by their burial goods and stone structures. The fact that the elite possessed goods from as far away as China shows this. It is thought that the people populating this area were Shona, whose language is the source of the word "dzimbabwe" meaning houses of stone. When these structures were first encountered by Europeans during the late 19th century, Europeans could not believe native Africans could have built them. An example of this attitude was shown by German geologist Carl Mauch. He viewed the site in early September 1871. After describing the impressive stone ruins he had seen, he gave this explanation of their existence deep in the "unexplored" African interior: "I do not think I am far wrong if I suppose that the ruin on the hill is a copy of Solomon's Temple on Mount Moriah and the Building in the Plain a copy of the palace where the Queen of Sheba lived during her visit to Solomon" (Connah, *African Civilizations*, p. 183). The myth of non–African origin of Great Zimbabwe persisted for a century, particularly during the time of white minority rule in what is now Zimbabwe. Much of the archaeological evidence at sites related to Great Zimbabwe was destroyed due to the attitudes of the excavators, who were trying to discover which non–African people built these buildings. This attitude has changed in the last forty years. It is now clear that this civilization had much to offer to the Indian Ocean trade system. This trade was conducted on the east coast of Africa facing the Indian Ocean.

In the era when oceanic trade was conducted by ships driven by oars and wind, "it is wind and current that unify bodies of water, not the land masses or islands round about" (Fernandez-Armesto, *Civilizations*, p. 461). As was discussed in the 1237 chapter, the unifying factor is the annual monsoon. Monsoon is an Arabic word meaning "winds that

change seasonally." In the Indian Ocean west of the Indian subcontinent, this means prevailing winds and currents traveling from eastern Africa northeast to India from May to October, and prevailing winds and currents traveling from India to eastern Africa from November to March. This pattern allowed an oceangoing ship to make a round trip between India and Zanzibar in one calendar year. During the 13th century, direct sailing from India to any point on the east African coast was rare. Most voyages contained multiple stops. The main intermediate ports were Hormuz at the entrance to the Persian Gulf, and Aden at the southern entrance to the Red Sea. By 1300, several ports along the east African coast were sufficiently developed to have trade with these Muslim cities.

If you survey the east African coast south of the Horn of Africa, you pass through several environments. From the southern entrance to the Red Sea to around Mogadishu, the coast is desert, and has no ports. From Mogadishu south, the coast has sufficient rainfall to support agriculture on the small amount of land between the coast and the escarpment to the inland plateau. There are many good harbors, and several islands just offshore that form safe harbors both on the island and mainland. The coastal environment allowed sufficient agriculture to support a substantial population, particularly when the resources of the sea were exploited. The sea produced fish and other marine foods, and wild game was close by on land. The oldest archaeological discoveries show trade activity around Somalia about 2000 years ago. By 700, port towns had been established all along the coast south to Sofala, which is on the African coast across from Madagascar. These towns were small settlements of Africans who spoke a Bantu language. Trade goods found in archaeological digs show trade with Arabian and Persian Gulf ports.

Soon after 700, these towns were transformed. The culture and language of these East African port cities were influenced by the most important event of the century from 630–730, the spread of Islam. Muslim merchants from Arabia and the Persian Gulf area started to settle in these towns during this period. These Arabic speakers were half the cultural equation that created the Swahili world. Swahili is the language of the east African coast. It is a Bantu based language, with many borrowed words from Arabic. As this combination implies, the residents of the cities of the coast were mostly Africans, with a substantial number of Arabic speaking residents along the coast. By 1300, the Muslim residents of these cities had built mosques in towns stretching from Mogadishu to Sofala. Other examples of Muslim influenced buildings in this area were fine stone houses, stone walls, and the occasional palace.

Offshore islands were home to several of these port cities. The largest example is Zanzibar, which was famous enough that Marco Polo included a chapter on it in his book written in 1298, even though he never visited it. The island port that handled the trade of Great Zimbabwe was Kilwa. Other island ports were in the Lamu archipelago, Mafia Island, the Comores archipelago, and on Madagascar. These ports were described by various Arab historians in the 10th through 12th centuries. Soon after Islam was established in Arabia and the Persian Gulf area, a market relationship arose between those areas and the eastern African ports due to a tenent of Islam. Slavery was allowed under Islam, but the slaves could not be Muslim. The closest source of pagans was Africa. Slaves are mentioned as part of the trade between the Islamic world and east Africa as early as 900. In 1300, the slave trade was thriving in East Africa.

The ports of east Africa were entrepots of trade both from the mainland and from the sea. What the port exported from the mainland depended on its location. The products of Great Zimbabwe were sent to Sofala. Products from Great Zimbabwe were shipped from Sofala to Kilwa. The political relationship between Sofala and Kilwa is not known. Arab merchants in Kilwa traded with their counterparts in the Muslim world. In return, products from as far away as China have been found in the Great Zimbabwe polity. Along the coast, some of the ports specialized in products such as ivory, turtle shells, cowrie shells, iron, copper, and other natural resources of inland Africa.

Evidence from Arab sources and the buildings discovered in East African port towns show that the port towns were locally ruled, probably by Arab rulers. The most prominent buildings excavated are mosques, and large residences that may be palaces. The population of these towns was predominantly African. Arab rulers and merchants were an elite minority. There are no business records showing how the trade was conducted, or who their African counterparts were. But it is clear from the material evidence that both the rulers of inland polities like Great Zimbabwe, and leaders of port cities like Kilwa and Gede were wealthy, and willing to show off their status. In 1331, Kilwa was visited by Ibn Battuta, a well-traveled Muslim merchant. He described it thus: “Kilwa is one of the most beautiful and well-constructed towns in the world” (Connah, *African Civilizations*, p. 150). This from a man who, over the course of his life, traveled from Spain east to China, Persia south to Kilwa, and many points in between.

In 1300, a thriving commerce was based on these east African ports. Ships sailed for Aden and Hormuz each year. Ships arrived from those ports each year as well. There were occasional visitors directly from

the Indian subcontinent. Goods passed through both from the African interior and from the entire Indian Ocean trade system. This included Chinese goods. This indigenous trade system was in place when the east coast of Africa was visited in force by the leading powers of the world in the 15th century. These two visits had totally opposite effects. In the early 15th century, the Ming admiral Zheng Ho led three voyages from China to various ports on the east coast Africa. These were "treasure fleets." The fleets contained more than 100 vessels, and were diplomatic in nature. The most famous result of one voyage was a giraffe secured in the port of Malindi, near present day Mombassa. After the last voyage in 1433, there were no further direct contacts with China. When Vasco da Gama arrived in Malinidi with a fleet of four ships on April 14, 1498, he had other ideas. Vasco seized an Arab pilot who had made the voyage directly from Malindi to Calicut in India, and forced the pilot to guide his fleet to India. The end result of Vasco's voyage on the East African coast continues to be felt, as the Portuguese decided to conquer a part of this coast as a waystation to India. This signaled the integration of the Indian Ocean trade system into the newly developed Atlantic system. But the Atlantic system did not exist in 1300.

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Epilogue

At the end of the 13th century, the largest political unit on earth was the Mongol empire. This empire had split into five separate parts. But it had been the largest contiguous land empire yet created. The human price paid creating this empire was immense. The most recent estimate is that 40 million people died during these wars, which covered Eurasia from Japan to central Europe. Parts of Central Asia devastated during these wars would not recover demographically or economically until the 18th century. China suffered immense human and property loss. However, the Mongol rulers enabled the increase of trade between the eastern and western parts of Eurasia. This trade was personified by Marco Polo, and continued as long as the Mongols could provide the protection necessary for such long-distance travel and trade.

The largest human event of the 13th century was the Mongol conquests. It is on a list titled: “(Possibly) The Twenty (or so) Worst Things People Have Done to Each Other” (Pinker, p. 195). This list is ranked by raw death toll, and by an adjusted rank using the percentage of people killed divided by the estimated world population at the time of the event. As a percentage of the world population, the Mongol conquests rates as second worst in history. These events were devastating, but the next few centuries would produce two disease events that would surpass the toll from this human caused event.

Outbreaks of various diseases occurred during the 13th century, as they had since the dawn of human history. None of these outbreaks were severe enough to be mentioned in this narrative, as they were localized and part of everyday life where they occurred. This would change in the 14th century. The 13th century was at the end of the Medieval Warm Period, which featured warmer climate in northern lands. This started to change around 1300, initiating what is known as the Little Ice Age. In northern inhabited areas of Europe, Asia, and Greenland, this climate change had major impact. Greenland was colonized by Inuit emigrants from North America, and the European settlements declined to the point of evacuation by the early 15th century. In England, there were several famines caused by cold, rainy summers in the early 14th century. Famines caused a severe death toll in the first half of the 14th century, but much worse was to come.

In the early 14th century, there were several outbreaks of bubonic plague in China, first reported in 1313. These outbreaks came from the plague virus, which is now thought to have evolved in Central Asia. This virus had reached Europe before, causing a devastating plague in the 6th century. Then the plague disappeared from western records. There were plague events in China and India later, but none of these were overwhelming until the 14th century. After outbreaks in China, the virus was transmitted to the West, probably by Mongol armies or with merchants on the Silk Road. The first reported instance in Europe was at the Crimean port of Caffa, while under siege of a Mongol army. After this, the plague spread to Constantinople, then Messina in late 1347. From there, this plague spread all over Europe and North Africa. In contemporary sources, the name for this epidemic was pestilence, pest, sudden death, malady, great death, or mortality, usually with “The” in front of it. Eventually this epidemic became known as the Black Death. Originally thought to have one cause, from the bubonic plague, this event is now thought to have been caused by a combination of many diseases, including bubonic plague, pneumonic plague, typhoid fever, diphtheria, influenza, typhus, smallpox, and possibly other diseases. Whatever the cause, the effect has been estimated as loss of a third of the population of Europe during the initial outbreak from 1347 to 1351. There were more outbreaks of this event, finally concluding in the 17th century. The combination of plague, famine and war led to a decrease of population in Europe that was not made good until the early 18th century. The demographic histories of India and China showed severe effects as well.

The next great epidemic took place in the 16th through 18th century in the Americas. After European contact was initiated by Columbus in 1492, a European presence was established on Hispanola during Columbus’ second voyage in 1493. European diseases spread to Native Americans with the establishment of more European outposts in the Americas. The first outbreak of a devastating epidemic was reported in Hispanola in 1518. This was followed by others in Mexico during the Cortez expedition from 1519 to 1521, and Peru during the Pizarro expedition from 1531 to 1533. It is thought that these diseases spread from Mexico to Peru before Pizarro’s arrival in 1531. There are other instances of Spanish explorers visiting parts of the Americas before the plagues hit, and these explorers reported significant populations in areas that were later considered empty of native presence. The experience of the Spanish was replicated by the French and English in North America. This reduction in population was due to European diseases to which the original inhabitants of the Americas had little resistance. This lack of resistance was due to genetic and

bacteriological factors beyond the control of either the invaders or the invaded. The European conquerors certainly treated the original inhabitants poorly, and killed many in direct action. However, the death toll from diseases among the original inhabitants was much higher than from bullets and swords. The number of original inhabitants of the Americas who died in these epidemics is the subject of serious dispute among experts. The low estimate is about 50 percent, ranging to a high estimate of 95 percent. The base population that was reduced is also in dispute, but it is safe to say that this reduction of population among the original inhabitants of the Americas was one of the largest epidemics in world history. While there were always some conquerors who thought that “the only good Indian is a dead Indian,” most Europeans who settled in the New World wanted the original inhabitants alive, as slaves. After this reduction in population, the European solution was to import labor, initiating another great tragedy in the Atlantic slave trade with Africa.

The point of this little review of subsequent events is to show that in some parts of the world, notably Western Europe, the 13th century was considered a time of plenty. This appears to have been true in the Americas and much of sub-Saharan Africa, as there was no contact with Europe. The events of the 13th century laid the groundwork for the times to come.

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